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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
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VOLUME II

THE FLORENTINE HISTORY

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY
THOMAS BEDINGFELD

ANNO 1595



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THE FLORENTINE HISTORIE

WRITTEN IN THE ITALIAN TONGUE BY

NICHOLO MACCHIAVELLI

CITIZEN AND SECRETARIE OF FLORENCE

AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

T. B. Esquire

1595

THE FLORENTINE HISTORIE

EPISTLE
DEDICA-
TORIE

formed his dutie. Notwithstanding, sith both those wants may be supplied by your judgement, I adventure the Booke into your L. hand, whom I dare trust with any pardonable error. For as I have taken in hand this labour, more to enterteine my selfe, (not otherwise occupied) then thereby to merit your thanks, or the commendation of others: so doo I recommend the same to your L. rather to be looked on at leisure, then as a thing of perfection worthie to be studied. Yet do I thinke (and so do others of more judgement) that this Historie doth equall or excell the most part that have bin written: not so much for the order and argument of the matter, as the juditiall discourses and observations of the Authour. Wherein be discovered the causes of forraine and domesticall discords, the commodities and dis-commodities of treaties, and the secret humours of Princes: with diverse other things verie considerable, chiefly of such as be called to consultation of publike affaires and government. And as the end of all Histories ought be to moove men unto vertue, and discourage them from vice, so do I thinke, there is not any that conteineth more examples to that purpose, then this writer: who leaving aside all partialitie, and the custome of those that studie to flatter whom they favour, and misreport whom they love not, doth seeme greatly

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to follow the truth, and setteth forth rather the causes and effects of everie action, then overmuch extoll or disgrace the persons of whome the storie entreateth. But (as of all other things) so hereof your L. can best judge. Wherefore most humbly reaccommending to your good favour, this poore Present, and my faithfull service, I take leave. At the Court, this eight of Aprill, 1588.

EPISTLE
DEDICA-
TORIE

Your L. most humble

and assured to commaund,

THOMAS BEDINGFELD.

THE FLORENTINE HISTORIE

THE PROEME OF THE AUTHOUR



Y meaning was, at such time as I determined to write the Actions of the Florentine people, both within and without the Citie, to begin my Narration from the yeare of the Christian Religion, 1444, at which time the house of Medici through the merits of Cosimo and Giovanni his father, aspired to more reputation then any other in Florence. For I thought that Leonardo of Arezzo and Poggio (two excellent Historiographers) had particularly set downe all things that till those dayes had hapned. But having afterwards diligently read their writings, to see with what order and meanes they proceeded (to the end that following the same, our *Historie* might be by the Readers better allowed) I found that in their description of the warres made by the Florentines, both against Princes and other forraine States, they had used exceeding great diligence: but of the civill discords and inward enimities, and of the effects by them brought forth, they had utterly omitted one part, and so brieflie described the other, as the Readers could not thereby gather any profit or pleasure at all: which I thinke they did either because they judged those matters so meane as were not worthie the writing, or else, feared to offend the posteritie of some persons who should thereby have bene evill reported. Which two respects (be it spoken without offence) seeme to me, utterly unworthie men of great reputation. For if there be any thing in *Histories* that delighteth or teacheth, it is that, which maketh particuler description. Or if any reading be profitable for men that governe in Common-weales, it is that, which sheweth the occasions of hate and faction: to the end that being warned by harme of others, they may become wise, and continue themselves united. Also if every example of Common-weales do move the mind, those we read of our Country

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doo move most, and be most profitable. Moreover, if the divisions of any Common-weale have ever bene not able, the divisions of Florence are of all others most not able. For the most part of other Common-weales (to us knowene) were content with one onely division, and thereby, according to the accidents sometimes encreased, and sometimes ruined their Cities. But Florence not content with one, had many divisions. In Rome (as every man knoweth) after the Kings were expulsed, division grew betweene the nobilitie and the multitude: which continued till the ruine thereof: the like hapned in Athens, and all other Common-weales which in those dayes flourished. But in Florence, first the noble men became divided among themselves. Then the nobilitie and the people. And at last the people and the multitude. Yea many times it hapned, that one of these being victorious, divided it selfe into two. Of which divisions, followed so many murthers, so many banishments, and so many subversions of Families, as never chaunced within any Citie, that can be remembred. And surely it seemeth to mee, there is nothing that witnesseth so well the greatnes of our Citie, as that which dependeth upon these divisions, being of force sufficient to subvert any Citie of what greatnes or power so ever. Notwithstanding our state still encreased. For so great was the vertue of those Citizens, by their wisdom and courage to work the advancement of themselves and their country, as they that hapned to escape so manifold mischiefes, could by their vertue procure more encrease to the Citie, then the displeasure of those accidents which wrought the decaie, could decrease it. And without all doubt, if Florence had bin so happie, as it might upon the delivery thereof from the Empire, have taken some forme of government, which would have holden the state united, I know not what Common-weale either auncient or moderne, that for vertue of Armes and industrie, before it could have bene preferred. For most true it is, that after the Ghibilini were banished in so great numbers that all Toscana and Lombardy were full of them, the Guelfi with the rest that remayned at the warre against Arezzo one yeare before the journey of Compaldino, drew out of their owne Cittie of Cittizens onely 1200 men of Armes, and 12000 footmen. After that time, in the warre against Filippo Visconti Duke of Milan, having rather

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to prove industrie, then their owne proper Armes (for at that time they were decayed) we see in five yeares, which that warre continued, the Florentines spent three Milions and five hundreth thousand Florins. And that warre being ended (as not pleased with peace) to shew more of their greatnesse, they besieged the Cittie of Lucca. I cannot therefore conceive any cause why these divisions should not be particularly written. And if those notable writers before named, were withholden by feare, to offend the posteritie of such as they should have made mention of, they greatly deceived themselves, and seeme to know little of the ambition of men, with the desire they have to make the names of their Ancestors and themselves to continue perpetuall. Neyther do they remember, that many men wanting occasion to win themselves fame, by some laudable deede, by some impious acte, have laboured to aspire thereunto. And they considered not, that the actions of men which have in them greatnesse, as governments and authorities, howsoever they be handled, or what end soever they have, do seeme alwayes to give men more honor then blame. Which I having thought upon, did determine to change my meaning, and resolved to begin my Historie at the beginning of our Cittie. And sith my intent is not to usurp the place of others, I will particularly set downe what chanced onely within the Cittie till the yeare 1334 and of such things as hapned without, I will not say more then that, which for the understanding of the other shall be necessarie. The yeare 1434 being passed, I will particularly write the one and the other. Moreover, to the end this Historie may be the better understood, before I entreate of Florence, I shall discourse by what meanes Italy became subject to such Potentates as in those dayes there governed. The first Booke shall briefly recite all accidents hapned in Italy from the declination of the Romaine Empire, till the yeare 1434. The second will shew what things hapned from the beginning of Florence, till the warre which the Florentines made against the Pope, after expulcion of the Duke of Athene. The third doth end with the death of King Ladislao of Naples, Anno 1434. In the fourth Booke we wil intreate what other things chanced till the yeare abovesaid. And from thenceforth discourse particularly of such accidents as befell within Florence, till this our time.

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TO THE READER



NOT by my suite, though by my consent, this Historie is now become publike. The translation thereof was diverse yeares past desired by an honorable personage, not now living; yet for loyaltie to his Prince, love to his Countrey, and vertuous deserving of all men, worthie a longer life: had not God in his divine providence otherwise ordeyned. Loth I was to medle with matter of so much waight, in regard of mine owne insufficiencie, being neither learned, nor making profession of learning: and lother it should be published, for that the Author (in some other his works) hath not (as is thought) written with due respect to pietie. Howsoever that be, in this Booke (being a meere relation of the Florentines fortune, when they were governed Aristocraticallie) appeareth not any thing unfit to be knowne, or that may receive evill construction.

The first part, sheweth the occasions of ruine in the Romaine Empire; and how the Provinces of Italy became divided into diverse governments: with their often variations. Secondly, by what meanes the Pope, the Venetians, the King of Naples, and the Duke of Milan, possessed the greatest parts of Italy. Lastly, how that the Florentines, abandoning obedience to the Emperour, lived (almost continually) in faction and civill partialitie, untill the house of Medici, by the great vertue of Giovanni, Cosimo, Piero, and Lorenzo, atteyned to a singuler reputation in that State; where now (and some yeares past) they governe as Princes, with great honor, justice, and integritie: which happinesse they could not finde in their Aristocraticall pollicie. Yet diverse notable Polititians and wise law-makers, have not onely allowed, but also highlie commended it above others:

The subject
of this
Historie.

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TO THE
READER

Mediocritie
the scope of
Aristocracie.

Affirming, that as mediocritie is in all things most praiseable, and extremities reproveable, so the Aristocracie (being the meane betweene the multitude and one Prince) is speciallie to be preferred. Also for that the authoritie to commaund, is due to the most worthie, and worthinesse consisteth either in honor, in vertue, in riches, or in them altogither, the state Aristocraticall must needs be most allowed, bicause the noble, the riche, and vertuous men are in all places the fewest number, and they onely in that kinde of government have authoritie. They alleage also how the rich men onely, as they that have most interest in the State, do bestowe most in publike services, and therefore to them the Government ought be allotted: so was it in Rome after the Kings were deposed, likewise in Athens, in Carthage, and at this day in Venice, Genova, and Lucca.

Government
Aristocracie
imperfitt.

For answeere of these reasons in favour of Aristocracie, wherein mediocritie seemeth to be speciallie sought for, who so shall duely examine thereof, may finde, that to divide things in the midst, and thereby to marke out the vertue (which consisteth in reason) were impossible, as all Philosophers have determined. True it is, that the meane betweene all, and one is perfitt, yet no where to be found: sith in some Cities there are not one thousand Citizens, and in some other more then an hundreth thousand: which maketh the Aristocracie alwayes incertaine by the incertaintie of the numbers. And where the Governors be many, there are also factions many, the resolutions slowe, and the secrets of State often discovered. For by experience is seene, how those Aristocracies which have in them fewest Governors, are most durable: As that of the Lacedemonians, governed by thirtie persons, and that of the Pharsalians by twentie. It is not therefore the meane betweene one and all, which causeth mediocritie.

Now for bestowing Soveraigntie upon the most worthie, true it is, so it ought be, yet that argument maketh more for the Monarchie. For among the noble, rich, and wise, some one doth ever excell the rest, and to him (by that reason) the authoritie ought be given, seeing it is not possible to find all those things equally in all men. If it be alleaged, that among the greatest number are found

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most vertuous and good men, that reason serveth not, either in that state or the Democracie: seeing in them both (as in all Corporations) the most voices are preferred before the wise and better. To conclude, I say that in all States, wherein are most Governors, there are fewest resolutions, and most disputations. The Venetians therefore (to meete with those inconvenients) do commit the mannaging of their ordinarie affaires to the Senate, which consisteth of seven persons onely, as knowing that the fewer be made privie, the more secretly they shall be handled: and no Aristocracie have had so long continuance. Thus much touching Aristocraticall government, of which kinde, was that whereof this Historie largely discourseth.

TO THE
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The State Populer, do likewise boast of the excellencie thereof, as that which observeth equalitie without exception of persons, and reduceth the constitutions civill unto the lawe of nature: For as nature hath not given riches, offices, or honor to one man more then to another, so the Government Populer, tendeth to have all men equall, without priviledge or prerogative whatsoever. For by such meane (they say) that avarice in those that be riche, and insolencie in them that be great, shall be taken away, which are the most perilous inconvenients that can happen to any Common-weale; and consequently all thefts, oppressions, partialities, and factions, are removed: adding, that humane societie cannot be nourished without amitie, and the nourisher of amitie is equalitie, and no equalitie can be found but onely in States Populer: it followeth therefore, that is the best and most commendable government, bicause each man enjoyeth libertie, naturall and equall justice, without feare of tyrannie or oppression. These, and some other reasons are framed in commendation of Government Populer.

Equalitie the
scope of
Democracie.

Whereunto I say, that this order of commanding, which chiefly respecteth equalitie, is not, nor hath bene in any Common-weale, bicause no such equalitie of goods and honors could be observed. And he who taketh upon him to bestow them equally, shall proceed contrarie to nature. For as she hath made some men more wise and advised then others, so hath she framed them to commaund, and others to obey. Some have wisdom and aptnesse to direct, others

Democracie
imperfitt.

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READER

have strength of bodie, and fitnessse to execute what is commaunded. And touching libertie naturall (whereof Populer States do glory much) were that such as is supposed, how could there be either Magistrate, lawe, or forme of government: for where Magistracie is, there can be no generall equalitie. Besides that, all wise and learned writers have misliked that kinde of government. Plato calleth it a market, where all things are to be sould. Aristotle alloweth not thereof, nor of the Aristocracie. Seneca saith, it is impossible for any man to please the people, that taketh pleasure in vertue. And how can a multitude (as a monster of many heads) void of reason and judgement, determine any thing good or profitable? Also to aske counsell of the people, as was anciently used in States Populer, is (as it were) that wise men should seeke to be informed by mad folks. Which moved Anacarsis to say (seeing the Magistrates to propound matters, and the people to resolve) that in Athens wise men moved questions, and fooles determined what should be done. If any man produce the Populer Government of the Suisses, continued more then three hundreth yeares: Thereunto may be answered, that the nature of that people is apt to be so governed. Besides that, the most mutenous sort of them are commonly from home in service of the warre under forraine Princes, and the rest more tractable, do not care much how the State is handled. And among themselves there is no diffidence, by reason the Nobilitie of those Countreys were slaine, first at the battell of Sampac, and after at Basil, the rest willinglie banished themselves.

Monarchie,
the most
excellent
Government.

By this which hath bene briefly said, appeareth how both the optimacie and Populer governments are subject to mutation, disorder and utter ruine, and consequently how fortunate those people are, whom God hath destined to live in the obedience of a successive royall Monarchie: where the Prince submitteth himselfe no lesse to the lawes of nature, then he desireth the subjects should be obedient unto him, leaving to every one libertie of life, and propertie in that he possesseth. Succession argueth Gods providence, and government naturall, planteth a certaine reciproke love betweene the Prince and the people. One other reason of

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READER

nature appeareth, in that the Monarke is alone in soveraigntie: for as God onely ruleth the whole world, and as the sunne alone giveth light to all creatures, so the people of one land do most naturally yeeld obedience to one head and commander. Yea, all nations were first so governed, as the Assirians, Persians, Egyptians, Jewes, Grecians, Scithians, Turks, Tartars, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spanyards, Polonians, Danes, etc. and in the Indias were found no other government. Neither do the sacred Histories make mention of other Rulers then Kings onely. And to confirme what hath bene said of royall government, reade the opinions of Plato, Homer, Herodotus, Xenophon, S. Ciprian, S. Jerome, with other as well divine, as philosophicall writers. Finally, it seemeth, that Soveraigntie in one onely person is more honorable and magnificent, then if the same were divided among a fewe Lords (as is used in the Aristocracie) or among the whole multitude, as in Populer Governments. And experience hath proved, that for direction and commandment in the warre, pluralitie of Governors have almost ever received prejudice and dishonor. Which moved the Romanes (at such occations) to make a Dictator. The like was done by the Lacedemonians, and is (at this time) used of the Venetians, whome they call *gran Proveditore*. By these reasons and examples (omitting many other) appeareth, that the Monarchie royall, is a government most reasonable, most naturall, most honorable, and most necessary. And such is the happinesse of our fortune, that by divine providence, there liveth not in any land a more perfit paterne of an excellent Prince, then is our present Soveraigne, who feareth God rightlie, and governeth her subjects justlie: prudent in counsell, and valorous in execution. In prosperitie modest, in adversitie constant; faithfull to friends, and feared of enemies; affable to the good, and effroyable to the evill: under whose sacred protection, our peace, our plentie, and our securitie, hath many yeares prospered.

T. B.

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THE FIRST BOOKE



HE people inhabiting the North, beyond the Rivers of Reyne and Danubio, being borne in a cold Region, yet wholesome and apt to generation, do many times encrease, and become so populous, that part of them are constrained to abandon their native countries, and seeke new places where to remaine. The order

which those people hold in dispersing the inhabitants, is, to divide themselves into three parts, yet so, as in everie one, may be some of the nobilitie, and some of the people, some of the rich and some of the poore equallie divided: which done, the one part (whose lot falleth so out) leaveth that country and seeketh fortune elsewhere to abide. The other two parts of the people there remaining, doo possesse and enjoy the landes of them that are departed. These people were those which destroyed the Romane Empire; whereunto the Emperours themselves gave some occasion by forsaking Rome, the antient Emperiall seate, and settling themselves at Constantinople: For thereby the West part of the Empire became weake, lesse regarded, and more easie to be harmed both of their owne ministers, and others their enemies. Surely the destruction of so great an Empire builded upon the blood of so many vertuous men, could not be lost without the sloath of Princes, infidelitie of ministers, great forces, and much obstinacie in them, who assaulted the same: for not onely, one sort of people, but many multitudes in that action conspired.

The order of the Northren people.

The Northren people oppressed the Romane Empire.

THE FLORENTINE HISTORIE

THE FIRST BOOKE

The Empire
divided into
three govern-
ments.

The first enemies, which came to the destruction of the Roman Empire after the Cimbri (vanquished by Marius the Romane) were the Visigotti, which name in our language, may bee called Gotti of the West. These people, after some conflicts in the Empire, and through the sufferance of the Emperours, long time continued their dwellings upon the River of Danubio. And although at sundrie occasions, and sundrie times, they assaulted the provinces belonging to the Empire, yet were they by the power of the Emperours from time to time impeached: and at last by Theodotio gloriously vanquished. So that thereby being brought under his obedience, they could not againe make any King over them, but contented with the Emperours paie, under his government and ensigne, they lived and served. But Theodotio being dead, and leaving Arcadio and Honorio his sonnes, heires of the Empire, (but not of his vertue and fortune) the time, with the Prince clearly altered and chaunged. Theodotio authorized unto three parts of the Empire, three governours. In the East, Ruffino, in the West Stillicone, and in Affrica Gildonio. Everie one of these, determined after the death of their Prince, not to governe as ministers, but to possesse the countries as Princes. Of these three, Gildonio and Ruffino, were at their beginnings oppressed: but Stillicone better dissembling his intent, sought to winne himselfe credit with the new Emperours, and neverthelesse disturbe the quietnesse of their state. Then to the end he might the rather attaine the possession thereof, and procure the Visigotti to become enemies to the Empire, he counselled the Emperour no more to paie them. Besides that, Stillicone imagining these enemies were not of force sufficient to disturbe the Empire, found meanes that the Burgundi, Fraunchi, Vandali, and Alani (all people of the North, and appointed to seeke themselves a new habitation) assailed the Romane countries.

Rome sacked
by the Visi-
gotti.

The Visigotti then being discharged from their paie, determined (as of an injury) to be revenged: and creating Alarico their King, assaulted the Empire, destroyed Italy, and sacked Rome. After which victory, Alarico died, and to him succeeded Ataulfo: who tooke to wife Placidia sister to the Emperours, and through that alliance, agreed with

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them to succour France and Spaine: which countries were by the Vandali, Burgundi, Alani, and Fraunchi, (thereto moved by the occasions aforesayd) assailed. Whereof ensued, that the Vandali (who had already conquered that part of Spaine which is called Betica) were sore molested by the Visigotti: and not having other helpe, were forced to accept the offer of Bonifacio, at that time governing Affrica for the Emperour: who required them to take in hand the conquest thereof, being by his meane in Rebellion; and he fearing least his fault should be to the Emperour detected. For these reasons aforesaid, the Vandali most willingly tooke the enterprise in hand, and under Genserico their King, possessed Affrica.

Bonifacio
governor of
Affrica.

By this time Theodotio sonne to Archadio was become Emperour, who little regarding the affaires of the Empire in the West, gave great hope to these forrein people to enjoy those things they had conquered. So that, the Vandali possessed Affrica, the Alani and Visigotti governed Spaine: the Fraunchi and Burgundi did not onely conquere Gallia, but also unto the parts thereof, by them conquered, gave their owne names, calling the one Francia, the other Burgogna. The happie successe of those, encouraged new people to the destruction of the Empire. For at that time the people called Unni assailed and possessed Pannonia, a province adjoyning to the River Danubia, which at this day having taken the name of these Unni, is called Ungheria. Upon consideration of these disorders, the Emperour seeing himselfe on everie side assailed, to the end he might have the fewer foes, beganne to take truce, sometimes with the Vandali, and sometimes with the Franchi: which did greatly encrease the reputation and power of the barbarous people, disgracing and diminishing the credit of the Empire. Neither was in those dayes, the Iland of Bretagna (at this day called England) assured from such invasion: for the Bertonii fearing these people which had possessed France, and not finding how the Emperour could defend them, called to aide them the Angli, a people of Germany so named. These Angli under Votigerio their King, tooke the enterprise in hand, overthrew the enemy, and in the end drave them out of the Iland, themselves there remaining

How Gallia
became
named
Francia.

How Hun-
garia became
so named.

Votigerio
king of the
Angli.

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THE FIRST BOOKE

How the
name of Eng-
land was
given to that
Iland.

The antient
English
people now
inhabitants of
Bretagna.

Attila his
comming into
Italy.

and inhabiting. By the name of which Angli, that country was, and yet is called Anglia. The inhabitants whereof, being thus spoiled and driven from their country, became desperate, perswading themselves, that although they could not defend their own country, yet was it possible for them to conquere an other. Whereupon, they with their families passed the seas, and planted them on the other side neare the shoare, and called that country by their owne name, Bretagna.

The people called Unni, who, (as is aforesaid) had conquered Pannonia, assembling themselves with other people, called Zepedi, Eruli, Turinghi, and Ostrogotti, (which word signifieth in that language, Gotti of the East) prepared themselves to seeke new countries: but not being of force sufficient to enter France (being defended by other barbarous forces) they came unto Italy, conducted by Attila their king, who not long before, to governe alone in his kingdome, had slaine Bleda his brother. Thus Attila became mightie, Andarico king of Zebedi, and Velamer king of the Ostrogotti, were made as it were, his subjects. Attila being arrived in Italy, besieged Aquilegia, where without resistance, hee continued two yeares, and during the siege, spoyled the country thereabouts, and dispersed the inhabitants of the same: which (as hereafter shalbe declared) was the beginning of the citie of Vinegia. After the taking and ruine of Aquilegia, and many other cities, he marched towards Rome: from the spoyle whereof, at the request of the Bishop, he refrained. The reverence and respect which Attila did bear towards this Bishop, was such, as perswaded him to leave Italy, and retire himselfe to Austria, where he died. After his death, Velamer king of the Ostrogotti, and other the leaders of forraine nations, tooke Armes against Tenrico and Eurie his sonnes, the one of them they slew, and constrained the other, with the Unni to returne over Danubio, into their owne countrey. The Ostrogotti and the Tepedi, were setled in Pannonia, the Eruli and Turingi upon the shoare on the other side of Danubio. King Attila thus departed from Italy, Valentiniano the Emperour in the West, imagining to repaire the countrey, and hoping with more commoditie to defend the same from the bar-

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barous people, abandoned Rome, and setled himselfe in Ravenna.

THE
FIRST
BOOKE

These aduersities happened to the Empyre in the West, occasioned the Emperours, who then dwelt at Constantinople, many times to graunt the possession thereof to others, as a thing full of perils and expence. And the Romanes otherwhiles, seeing themselves abandoned, without leave created an other Emperour or some deputie, to performe that office, (as did Massimo the Romane) after the death of Valentiniano, who constrained Eudossa lately wife to the Emperour, to take him to her husband. This woman beeing borne of Emperiall blood, desirous to revenge so great an injurie, and disdaining to bee married with a private Citizen, secretly perswaded Genserico King of the Vandali and Lord of Affrica, to come into Italy, shewing him the facilitie and profit of that enterprise. Hee enticed with hope of so great a spoyle came speedily thither, and finding Rome abandoned, sacked the Towne, and there remained foureteene dayes. Hee also tooke and spoyled diverse other Townes in Italy: and fraughting himselfe and his Army with spoyle, returned into Affrica. The Romanes came home to Rome, and finding Massimo dead, elected Avito a Romane, for Emperour. After the death of diverse other Emperours, the Empire of Constantinople, came to the hands of Zenone: and that of Rome, to Oreste and his sonne Augustolo, who through subiltie had usurped that Empyre.

The cause of
the election
of an Em-
perour in the
West.

While these men thus possessed and determined to holde the Empyre by force, the Eruli and Turingi, who (as is aforesayd) after the death of Attila remained uppon the shoare on the other side of Danubio, conspired together under the conduct of their Captaine Odoacre, came into Italy, and possessed such places, as were by them left voyd. Then the Longobardi (people also toward the North) entered Italy: ledde thither by Godolio their King, who were, (as heereafter shall be declared) the greatest plague of that countrey. Odoacre arrived in Italy, conquered the same, and neare unto Pavia slew Oreste, forcing Augustolo to flie away. After which victorie (to the ende that Rome varying in government, the governour might receive a new title)

The comming
of the Longo-
bardi into
Italy.

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THE FIRST BOOKE

How the
ancient
Empyre be-
came divided.

Odoacre leaving the name of the Empire, caused himselfe to be called King of Rome, and was the first Captaine of all the forraine people that invaded Italy to inhabit there. Because all the others, either for feare not to enjoy that they had gotten, or else doubting to be driven out by the Emperour in the East, either else for some other hidden occasion, onely spoyled the country: and that done, sought to plant their habitation elsewhere. Thus we see, that in those dayes the ancient Romane Empire was reduced to the government of these Princes. Zenone remaining in Constantinople, commaunded all the Empire in the East. The Ostrogotti governed Mesia and Pannonia. The Visigotti, Suevi, and Alani, possessed Guascognia and Spaine. The Vandoli ruled Affrica. The Franchi and Burgundi lived in France. The Eruli and Turingi remained in Italy. The kingdome of Ostrogotti came to the handes of Theodorico, Nephewe of Velamer, beeing in league with Zenone Emperour in the East, wrote unto him, that it seemed a thing unjust to his people the Ostrogotti, that they beeing in vertue superiours to all others, should be inferiours in Empyre: And therefore he could not by any meanes hold them within the confines of Pannonia. It seemed therefore necessarie to suffer them to take armes, and seeke new Countries: But first hee thought good to let him understand thereof, to the intent hee might graunt them some country, where with his good favour and their greater commoditie, they might inhabite.

Theodorico
king of Ostro-
gotti, a most
vertuous
Prince.

The Emperour Zenone, partly for feare, and partly for the desire hee had to have Odoacre driven out of Italy, graunted that Theodorico might come against Odoacre, and take the possession thereof. Then Theodorico departed from Pannonia, leaving there the Zepedi his friends: and being arrived in Italy, slew Odoacre, and his sonne; by whose example, hee tooke unto him the title of King of Italy, making Ravenna his royall seate, moved by the same reasons, that induced Valentiniano there to dwell. Theodorico was a man both for warre and peace moste excellent: for in the one, hee was alwaies victorious, and in the other generally profited the cities and people to him subject. Hee divided the Ostrogotti with their Captaines into sundry

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townes, to the end that in the warre hee might commaund them, and in the peace correct them : hee enlarged the Citie of Ravenna and restored Rome in all thinges (the discipline of warre except) giving to the Romanes everie other honour : and with his only authoritie kept in awe all the barbarous Kings usurpers of the Empyre. Hee built townes and fortresses betweene the Alpes, and the point of the sea Adriatico, the rather to empeach the passage of other barbarous people that should assaile Italy. And had not his great vertue bene in the end of his life blotted with some cruelties, committed uppon suspicion of his kingdome (as the death of Simmaco and Boetio, men of most godly life) he had bene in all respects worthy of honour and memorie. For the vertue and bountie of him, did not only repaire Rome and Italy of the affliction committed by the barbarous nations : but also reduced them into an order and government moste fortunate. And surely, if any times were ever in Italy, and the other Provinces there-about by reason of barbarous oppression miserable, they were those which happened from the time of Arcadio and Onorio, till his dayes. For who so shall consider the great mischiefs which happen to common weales by the variation of government, or change of the Prince, without any dissention and division, shall finde the same alone of force inough to ruine any state or kingdome, how mightie soever. It may therefore be imagined how great miseries the Romane Provinces endured : for they did not only alter their government, but also their lawes, their customes, their maner of life, their religion, their tounge, their apparrell, and their names. All which things (nay any one of them considered unseene) would move the hardest heart to compassion.

At that time many cities were overthrowen, many begun, and many enlarged. Among those that were ruined, were Aquilegia, Luni, Chiusi, Popolonia, Fiesole, and others. Of those which were buylt new, were Vinegia, Siena, Ferrara, Aquila, and other townes and castels, which for brevitie I omit. Those which of small Cities became great, were Fiorenza, Genova, Pisa, Milan, Napoli, and Bologna, to the which may be joyned the ruine and repaire of Rome, with diverse others Citties in like sort defaced and after amended.

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Among these ruines, and these new people, there grewe up new languages, since that time used in France, Spaine, and Italy; which mixed with the ancient tongues of those Countries, and the Romane speech, have framed languages never before time knowen. The names also of those Provinces, rivers, lakes, seas, and men, were utterly changed. For France, Italy and Spayne, be full of new names, from the olde farre differing: as appeareth (omitting many others). The rivers of Po, Garda and the Archipelago, which are names divers from those of auncient time used. Men likewise commonly in those dayes called Cæsari, Pompei, and such like: are new baptized, Peter, Mathew, and so forth. But among so many variations, the chaunge of Religion was not the least, for those of the ancient faith, contending with the miracles of the new, wrought among men occasion of great discord: but had the christian Religion bene united, the disorders had not bene so great. For the Greeke church, the Romane church, and the church of Ravenna, contended one against the other. Besides them, many other differents arose among the christian people, and into many opinions divided the world. An example whereof was Affrica, which suffered more affliction by reason of the opinion of Arius (which the Vandoli beleaved) then by any other cause either of their covetousnes or naturall crueltie. During the multitudes of these miseries, everie man beare (as it were) in his face, the markes of his discontented mind. For besides the manifold mischiefes by them endured, the greater number wanted the knowledge of God, by whome all creatures hope to be comforted. For the most of those people being ignorant of the true God, wanting helpe and hope, most miserably dyed.

Thus it appeareth, that Theodorico deserved no small commendation, being the first that appeased so many troubles. For within these 28 yeares which he reigned in Italy, he reduced it to so great order and honour, as the markes of miserie were scantly perceived. But he being dead, and leaving Atalarico for king (who was the sonne of Amalasciunta his daughter) Italy in short space returned to the former disorders. For Attalarico shortly after his graundfather died, left the government to his mother, and she making Theodato her minister in the government, was

The death of
Theodorico.

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by him betrayed. Theodato by this meane made King, became odious to the Ostrogotti, and Justiniano the Emperour hoped the rather to drive him from Italy. To performe that enterprise, he deputed Bellisario to be his Lieftenaunt, who had alreadie conquered Affrica, and chasing from thence the Vandoli, reduced the same to obedience of the Empyre. Bellisario also conquered Sicilia, and from thence passed into Italy, where he surprized Napoli, and Rome. The Gotti receiving these overthrowes, killed their king Theodato as the cheife occasion of their misadventure. In his place was chosen Vitigete, who after a few conflicts, was by Bellisario besieged, and in Ravenna taken. Then was Bellisario before he had performed the whole victorie by Justiniano revoked, and to his charge, were appointed Giovanni and Vitale, men both for vertue and conversation farre inferiour: wherfore the Gotti tooke heart, and created a king called Ildovado, who was at that time Governour of Verona. After him (being within a few daies slaine) Totila aspired to the kingdome, and distressed the Emperours armie, recovered Toscana and Napoli, and brought under his obedience, well neare all those states which Bellisario had gotten. Wherfore Justiniano thought good to send him again into Italy, who being come thither with smal forces, rather lost the reputation he had gotten before, then encreased the same. For Totila, as it were before the face of Bellisario (who was then with his armie at Hostia) besieged Rome and tooke it. Then considering with him selfe that he could neither hold it, nor leave it without daunger, he razed the greatest part of the Citie, driving the people from thence, and leading away the Senatours as prisoners, which Bellisario little regarding, marched with his armie unto Calauria, to meete there with souldiers sent in his aide from Greece. Thus Bellisario seeing Rome abandoned, determined with him selfe an honourable enterprise: and entering into the ruines of Rome, (with what speed he possibly could) repaired the walles of the citie, and called home the inhabitants. But fortune (as it seemeth) enemie to so laudable an attempt, apposed her selfe. For Justiniano the Emperour at the same time happened to be assaulted by the Parthi, and for

The acts of
Bellisario.

The acts of
Totila.

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that cause called home Bellisario : hee to obey his master, left Italy at the discretion of Tottila, who anew possessed Rome, but not with so great crueltie as he had before time there used. For being entreated by S. Benedetto, (of whome in those daies there was holden a great opinion of holines) he endeavoured him selfe rather to amend, then marre that citie.

The acts of
Narsete.

In this meane while, Justiniano had concluded a peace with the Parthi, and intending to send a new supply into Italy, was empeached to performe that intent by a new people of the North called Sclavi, who having passed Danubio, assailed Illiria and Thracia : so as by that meanes Tottila got into his hands all Italy. But so soone as Justiniano had suppressed the Sclavi, he sent thither his armie conducted by Narsete an Eunuch, who distressed the forces of Tottila, and slew him, with the remaine of the Gotti. After that overthrow, retired to Pavia, where they created Teia for their King. Narsete on the other side, after this victorie, surprized Rome, and at the last fought with Teia, not farre from the cittie of Nocera, slew him, and vanquished his armie. By meane of which victorie, the name of Gotti, in Italy was clearely extirped, having there remained from the reigne of Theodorico, unto Teia their Kings, threescore and ten yeares. But so soone as Italy was delivered from the Gotti, Justiniano died, leaving Justino his sonne to succeed him, who through counsell of Sophia his mother, revoked Narsete from Italy, and in his place, sent Longino his sonne thither. This Longino following the order of his predecessors, inhabited Ravenna, and settled in Italy a new fourme of government, appointing no Governours of Provinces as did the Gotti, but created in everie cittie and towne of importance a Chieftaine, whome he called Duke. In which division, he allotted no more honour to Rome, then to other townes, because he tooke from thence the Consuls and Senate, (which names till that day had bene ever there mainteined) reducing all under one Duke, who was yearly sent thither from Ravenna, and his government called the Romane Dukedome: but the generall Governour, who continually remained at Ravenna by the Emperours commaundement, and governed all Italy under

The acts of
Longino.

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him, was called Esarco. This division, made the ruine of Italy to be more easie, and gave opportunitie to the Longobardi to usurpe the same. The government of that country gotten by the vertue and blood of Narsete, thus taken from him, and he being also by Sophia injured, reviled and threatned to be called home and spinne with women, moved him so greatly to chollor and offence, that he perswaded Alboino King of the Lombardi (who at that time reigned in Pannonia) to come into Italy, and conquere it. The acts of
Alboyno.

The Longobardi beeing (as is aforesaid) entered into those countries neare Danubio, who had lately bene abandoned by the Heruli and Turingi, when by their King Odoacre they were led into Italy: for a time they there remained. But the kingdome being come to Alboino a man couragious and cruel, they passed the river Danubio, and fought with Comundo King of the Zepedi, and overthrew him in Pannonia, which hee then possessed. Alboino in this victorie amongst others, happened to take prisoner the daughter of Comundo, called Rosmunda, married her, and thereby became Lord of Pannonia. Then mooved by the crueltie of his nature, hee made a cup of her fathers hed, whereof (in memorie of the victorie) he used to drinke. But then called into Italy by Narsete (with whome in the warres of the Gotti hee had acquaintance and friendship) left Pannonia to the Unni, who after the death of Attila (as is aforesaid) were returned into their countrey. Then he came againe into Italy, where finding the same into many partes divided, sodenly wan Pavia, Millan, Verona, Vicenza, all Toscana, and the more part of Flamminia, now called Romagna. So that perswading himselfe through so many and so speedie successes, to have already (as it were) gotten the victorie of all Italy, hee celebrated a solemne feast in Verona, whereat, beeing by drinking much, become very merry, and seeing the skull of Comundo full of wine, hee caused the same to be presented to the Queene Rosmunda, who sat over against him at the table (saying unto her, with so loude a voice that everie one might heare him) that she should now at this feast drinke with her father: which speech pearced the Lady to the heart, and she forthwith determined to revenge the same.

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Then knowing that Almachilde (a valiant young gentleman of Lombardy) loved a maiden of hers, of whome hee obtained to lie with her, and the Queene beeing privy to that consent, did her selfe tarry in the place of their meeting, which beeing without light, Almachilde came thither, and supposing to have lien with the mayden, enjoyed the Queene her mistresse, which done, the Queene discovered her selfe and said unto him, that it was in his power to kill Alboino, and possesse her with her kingdome for ever: but if hee refused so to do, shee would procure that Alboino should kill him, as one that had abused his wife. To this motion and murther of Alboino, Almachilde consented. After the murther performed, finding that he could not according to his expectation enjoy the kingdome, and fearing to be slaine of the Lombardes for the love they bare to Alboino, the Queene and hee taking their princely treasure and jewels, fled to Longino at Ravenna, who honorably there received them.

During these troubles, Justiniano the Emperour died, and in his place was elected Tiberio, who beeing occupied in the warres against the Parthi, could not go to the reliefe of Italy. Whereby Longino hoped that time would well serve him, with the countenance of Rosmunda and helpe of her treasure, to become King of Lombardy and all Italy. And conferring his intent with the Queene, perswaded her to kill Almachilde, and take him for her husband: shee accepted and agreed unto that which hee perswaded, preparing a cup of wine poisoned, and with her owne hand shee offered the same to Almachilde, comming from a bath hote and thristie: hee having drunke halfe the wine, and finding his bodie thereby greatly mooved, mistrusting the poison, enforced Rosmunda to drinke the rest, whereof both the one and the other within fewe houres died, and Longino bereft of his expectation to become King.

The acts of
Clefi.

The Longobardi in the meane while assembling themselves in Pavia, (which was the cheife Cittie of their kingdome) elected there Clefi their King, who reedified Imola, which had bene ruined by Narsete, hee wan Rimino, and almost everie place from thence to Rome: but in the midst of these his victories, hee died. This Clefi was so cruell,

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not onely to strangers, but also to his owne subjects the Longobardi, as they were so terrified with his kingly authoritie, that after his daies, they determined no more to make anie King, but elected amongst them selves thirtie persons, whome they called Dukes, giving them jurisdiction over the rest: which was the cause that the Longobardi did not proceed in the conquest of all Italy, and that their kingdome did not extend further then Benevento, and that Rome, Ravenna, Cremona, Mantova, Padova, Monselice, Parma, Bologna, Faenza, Furlì, and Cesena, some of them defended them selves a time, and some other were never taken. Because the Lombardi wanting a King, their warres proceeded the more slowlie, and after the election of a new King (by reason of their libertie) were lesse obedient and more apt to mutinie among them selves, which thing, first hindered the victorie, and in the end drave them out of Italy. The Longobardi being come to this estate, the Romanes and Longino made with them an agreement. The effect thereof was, that everie one of them should lay downe their armes, and enjoy so much as they possessed.

The Lombardi refused to be governed by Kings.

In that time the Bishops of Rome began to aspire unto more authoritie then they had in times past: for by meane of the holy life of S. Peter, and some other Bishops with their godly examples, and the miracles by them done, they became much revered amongst men, and greatly encreased the christian Religion. In so much as Princes were occasioned (the more easily thereby to appease the great disorder and confusion of the world) to obey them. The Emperour then being become a Christian and remooved from Rome to Constantinople, it came to passe (as is aforesaid) that the Romane Empyre decayed, and the Church of Rome the rather thereby encreased: notwithstanding till the comming of the Longobardi, Italy being subject either to Emperours or Kings, the Empyre still prospered: and the Bishops of Rome had no greater authoritie then their learning and good life did deserve. For in all other things, either by the Kings or by the Emperours, they were commaunded, and as their ministers imploied, and sometimes put to death. But he that made the Bishops to become of greatest authoritie in Italy, was Theodorico King of the Gotti; when he

At what time the Bishops of Rome, aspired to authoritie.

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THE FIRST BOOKE

The remoove
of the Empe-
riall seat from
Rome, the
cause of the
Popes great-
nes.

The East
Empyre sup-
pressed in the
reigne of
Eracleo.

The troubles
of Italy,
caused by the
ambition of
Popes.

By what
meanes the
present
Princes of
Italy aspired.

removed his royall seate to Ravenna. For thereby Rome remaining without a Prince, the Romanes were enforced to yeeld their obedience to the Pope. Yet did not his authoritie thereby greatly encrease, because he could not procure to him selfe more preheminance, then that the Church of Rome should have precedence before the Church of Ravenna. But the Longobardi being come, and Italy divided into diverse parts, occasioned the Pope to take the more uppon him: for he, then beeing as it were chiefe of Rome, the Emperour of Constantinople and the Longobardi, did respect him so much, as the Romanes by his meanes, not as subjects, but as companions with the Longobardi and with Longino, joyned. Thus the Popes sometimes by the favour of the Longobardi, and sometime with the countenance of the Grecians, encreased their dignitie. But after the destruction of the Empyre in the East, (which happened in the time of the Emperour Eracleo) because the people called Sclavi, assaulted and conquered againe Iliria, calling the same by their owne name Sclavonia, the other partes of the Empyre were assailed, first by the Persians, and after by the Sarasins, who came from Arabia, conducted by Mahomet: and last of all by the Turkes. These people amongst them, possessed Soria, Affrica, and Egipt. So that the Empyre weakened, the Pope dispaired to have succour there, in time of his necessitie.

On the other side, the power of the Longobardi encreasing, it behooved him to seeke some new friendship, and for the same resorted to the Kinges of France. So as after that time, all the warres made uppon Italy by forraine people, were by the Bishops of Rome occasioned: and all the barbarous nations, who repaired in so great multitudes to Italy, were for the moste part by them called thither, which manner of proceeding continueth in our dayes, and hath heretofore kept, and yet dooth keepe Italy weake and impotent. Therefore in discourse of such thinges as have happened since those, to these our daies, more shall not be said of the distruction of the Empyre, which is altogether cast downe and ruined. But wee will heerafter discourse by what meanes the Popes and those other Potentates which till the comming of Carlo the eight, governed Italy,

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have attained to their greatnes, whereby we shal conceive, how the Popes first by their censures, after with them, and their armes mixed with indulgences, became terrible and venerable: and how by evill using the one and the other, they have altogether lost the use of their armes, and in the other, they stand at discretion. But returning to the order of our matter, I say, that Gregorio the third, beeing attained to the Papacy, and Aistulpho to the kingdom of Longobardi, contrarie to the agreement afore made, surprized Ravenna, and made warre against the Pope Gregorio: who (for the occasions aforesaid) not trusting any more to the Emperour of Constantinople beeing then weake, neither reposing trust in the Longobardi, who had diverse times distressed him, fled for ayde to Pipino the second, who from beeing Lord of Austracia and Brabancia was become King of France: not so much for his owne vertue, as his fathers Carlo Martello, and his graundfathers Pipino, because Carlo Martello beeing Governour of that Kingdome, wonne that memorable victorie against the Sarasins neare unto Torsci, upon the river of Era: wherein were slaine two hundred thousand Sarasins. For which cause Pipino his sonne, for the reputation of his father and his owne vertue, became after, king in that kingdome: vnto whome Pope Gregorio (as is beforesaid) sent for ayde against the Longobardi. Pipino answered, that hee was very willing to performe his request, but first desired to see him, and in his presence to honour him. For which purpose Gregorio travailed into France, and without any let, passed the townes of the Longobardi his enemies: so great reverence was then borne to that Religion.

Gregorio
tertio.

Gregorio arrived in France, was there greatly honoured by the King, and sent back accompanied with the Kings forces, who in Pavia besieged the Longobardi, wherby Aistulpho was enforced to make peace with the Frenchmen: which hee did at the request of the Pope, who desired not the death of his enemie, but that hee should convert and live. In which peace Aistulpho promised to render unto the Church all those townes thereto belonging, and by him usurped. But the French souldiers returned home, Aistulpho observed not the conditions of the peace, which

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beeing knowen to the Pope, hee prayed ayde a new of Pipino, who sent againe into Italy, where hee overthrew the Longobardy, tooke Ravenna, and contrarie to the will of the Grecian Emperour, gave the same unto the Pope, with all other townes under his Esarcato, adding also to them, the countrie of Urbino and La Marca: during the time that these townes were in bestowing, Aistulpho died; and Desiderio a Lombard and Duke of Tuscan tooke armes to usurpe the kingdome, and praied ayde of the Pope, to whome hee promised his friendship: which request was graunted, and the other Princes gave place. Desiderio at the beginning kept his promise, and according to the conditions made with Pipino, rendred the townes allotted unto the Pope, neither did the Esarco of Constantinople, after that time come any more in Ravenna, but all things were governed according to the pleasure and direction of the Pope. Then died the King Pipino, to whome succeeded his sonne called Carlo, who for the great and memorable exploits by him done, was called Magno. To the Papacy was at that time aspired Theodoro Primo. He falling into contention with Desiderio, was by Desiderio besieged in Rome, and constrained to crave ayde of Carlo, who speedily passed the mountaines, besieged Desiderio in Pavia, and tooke him with all his Children. And having sent them prisoners into France, went in person to visit the Pope at Rome, where hee pronounced this sentence, That the Pope beeing Vicar of God, could not be judged of men. For the which, the Pope with the people of Rome, created him Emperour.

Pope Theodoro primo.

Great honour done to the Pope by Carlo magno, with indignitie to the Emperors.

In this manner, Rome beganne to have an Emperour againe in the West. And where the Popes were woont to take their instaulation from the Emperours, after this time the Emperours in their election, would needes take their authoritie from the Pope: wherby the reputation of the Empire decreased, and the Church gained the same. By these meanes, the Popes grew great, and kept downe the authoritie of temporall Princes. The Longobardi having then bene in Italy 232 yeares, there was of them none other marke of straungers then the name: and Carlo being desirous to reforme that Countrey (in the time of Pope Leo

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the third) was pleased they should inhabit those places, where they were borne, and called that province of their name, Lombardia. But forasmuch as they had the name of Rome in great reverence, hee commaunded that all the next Countrey to it adjoyning (then in the obedience of the Esarcato of Ravenna) should bee called Romagna. Moreover, he created Pipino his sonne King of Italy, the jurisdiction whereof extended to Benevento: the rest remained to the Emperour in Greece, with whom Carlo had concluded a league. About this time Pascale the first was become Pope: and the priestes of the parishes in Rome, by reason of their nearenesse to the Popes person, and their presence at his election, to honour their authoritie, with a more venarable title beganne to bee called Cardinals, taking unto them great reputation, chiefly after they had excluded the Romanes from the election of the Pope, who (almost ever before that time) was some Citizen of Rome.

Pope
Pascale 1.

Originall of
Cardinals,
by Pope
Pascale 1.

Pascale beeing dead, Eugenio secundo, of the order of Santa Sabina, was elected Pope. And Italy beeing then in the handes of French men, did partly alter the order of government, and the more for that the Popes had in the temporalities thereof gained greater authoritie and made Earles and Marquesses, as before time, Longino Esarco of Ravenna had created Dukes. After a fewe other Bishops, Oспорco a Romane, aspired to the Papacy; who for the homeliness of his name, caused himselfe to be called Sergio: which was the beginning why the names of Popes was chaunged at their elections. By this time Carlo the Emperour was dead, to whome succeded Lodovico his sonne. After his death, there grew so great contention amongst his sonnes, that in the time of his graund-children, the Empire was taken from the house of France, and brought into Germany, where the first Emperour of that nation was called Ainolfo: and by meanes of these disorders, the family of Carlo, did loose not onely the Empire, but also the kingdome of Italy, because the Lombardi recovered their strength and offended the Pope and Romanes so much, as the Pope not knowing how to bee helped, for necessitie gave the Kingdome of Italy to Berengario Duke of Frivoli. These accidents encouraged

The first
occasion why
the Popes did
take new
names at ther
election.

At what time
the Empire
was taken
from the
house of
France.

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The kingdom
of Italy,
given to
Berengario.

the Unni, who then remained in Pannonia to assault Italy. But beeing come to triall of battle with Berengario, they were vanquished, and forced to returne into Pannonia, now called Ungaria: which countrey hath ever since reteyned their name.

At that time Romano Chieftaine of the Emperiall Armie, deposed his maister Constantino, and made himselfe Emperour in Greece. By reason whereof, Puglia and Calauria rebelled from the obedience of the Empire, and suffered the Sarasins to come thither: who beeing there, and possessing the Countries, attempted to besiege Rome. But the Romaines (because Berengario was occupied in the warres against the Unni) made Albarigo Duke of Tuscan their Captaine, by whose vertue, Rome was saved from the Sarasins. They beeing departed from the siege, builded a Castle uppon the mountaine called Gargano, and from thence they commaunded Puglia and Calauria, and disturbed the rest of Italy. Thus in those dayes Italy was marvelously afflicted: towards the Alpes, assaulted by the Unni, and towards Naples, by the Sarasins. In these miseries Italy many yeares remained, under three Kings of the Berengarii, one succeeding an other. In which time, the Pope and the Church were continually molested; and by meanes of division of the princes in the West, and the weakenesse of the Emperour in the Easte, knewe not where to bee succoured. The Cittie of Genova, with all the Rivers thereto belonging, were in those dayes by the Sarasins destroyed: whereof came the greatnesse of the Cittie of Pisa, for thither manie people fled for refuge. This happened in the yeare of the Christian religion, nine hundreth thirtie and one. But Ottone sonne of Enrico and Matilda Duke of Saxony (a man exceeding wise and of great reputation) being become Emperour, Agabito then Pope, praied him to come into Italy, and save him from the tyrannie of the Berengarii. The states of Italy were in those daies thus disposed. Lombardy was under Berengario the third, and his sonne Alberto. Toscana and Romagna, were governed by the deputies of the Emperour in the West. Puglia and Calauria, partly to the Emperour in Greece, and partly to the Sarasins obeyed. In Rome were

How Italy
was governed.
Anno 931.

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elected yearly of the nobilitie two Consuls, who according to the auncient custome ruled that Citie. Under them was appointed a Judge to minister justice to the people. There was also a councell of twelve men, which gave governours to the townes subject unto Rome. The Pope had in Rome more or lesse authoritie, according to the favour hee found with the Emperours, or others, that were there most mightie.

Then came the Emperour Ottone into Italy, and tooke the kingdome thereof from the Berengarii: who therein had reigned, fiftie five yeares, and therewith had restored the Pope to his dignitie. This Emperour had one sonne, and one nephew, both also named Ottoni, the one and the other of them succeeded in the Empire. In the raigne of Ottone the third, Pope Gregorio quinto, was by the Romanes driven out, and Ottone came into Italy, to put him again into the possession of Rome. The Pope then to be revenged of the Romans, tooke from them the authoritie of creation of the Emperour, and gave the same to the Germanes, appointing three Bishops of Maguntia, Treveri, and Colonia: and three secular Princes; the Marques of Brandenburge, the Earle Palatine of the Rhein, and the Duke of Sassonia to be electors, which constitution was made in the yeare 1002. After the death of Ottone the third, Enrico Duke of Baviera, was by these electors, made Emperour, and after twelve yeares, by Pope Stephano the eighth crowned. This Enrico and Simionda his wife, were persons of most godly life, as appeareth by diverse churches by them builded and endowed. Amongst which number was the temple of S. Miniato, neare to the Citie of Florence: Enrico died in the yeare 1023. After whom reigned Currado of Suevia, and after him Enrico the second, who came into Italy, and the church then being in schisme, found there, three Popes: all whom he deposed, and caused Clemente secundo to be elected, and of him was he crowned Emperour. In those dayes Italy was governed, partly by the people, partly by the Princes, and partly by the ministers of the Emperour: of whom, the chiefe was called Chancelor. Among the Princes, Gotfredi, and the Countesse Matilda his wife, borne of Beatrice sister to Enrico the

The election
of the Empe-
rour given to
the Germans.
Ann. 1002.

Three Popes
deposed by
Enrico 2.

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second, were most potent: for she and her husband possessed Lucca, Parma, Reggio, and Mantova, with all that countrey at this day called Patrimonio.

The Romans
auncient
enemies to
the Pope.

The ambition of the people of Rome, did at that time make much warre with the Popes: for they, having helped the Pope to drive out the Emperors, and reformed the Cittie as to them seemed good, sodeinly became enemies to him. And the Popes received more injuries at their hands, then at any other Christian Princes. And even in those dayes when the censure of the Popes made all the West of the world to tremble, yet even then, the people of Rome rebelled. And both the Popes, and the people studied for nothing so much, as how one of them, might overthrow the authoritie and estimation of the other. Nicholao secundo being aspired to the Papacy, tooke from the Romanes the creation of the Pope, as his predecessour Gregorio quinto, had before taken from them, the election of the Emperour, hee made also a constitution that the election of the Popes should from thencefoorth appertaine to the Cardinals. Neither was he so contented, but compounding with some Princes that then governed Calauria and Puglia (for such reasons as shall be hereafter declared) constrained all the officers appointed by the Romanes, to yeeld their obedience to the Popes, and remooved some of them from their offices.

The creation
of the Pope
taken from
the Romanes.

After the death of Nicholao, there happened a schisme in the church, because the Clergie of Lombardy would not obey Alexander the second, elected at Rome, but created Gadalo of Parma Antipope. Enrico, hating the greatnesse of these Bishops, sent unto the Pope Alessandro, requiring him to resigne the Papacy, and command the Cardinals to go into Germany, there to elect a new Pope. This Enrico was the first Prince that felt the force of spirituall displeasure. For the Pope called a new counsaile in Rome, whereat he deprived him from the empire and kingdome. After that time, some people of Italy followed the Pope, and some the Emperour, which was the beginning of the factions who called themselves Guelfi and Gibellini. Thus Italy delivered from forreine invasion, by civill discord began to be tormented. Enrico being excommunicate, was by his owne people constrained to come to Rome on bare-

The original
of the Guelfi,
and Gibellini.
An. 1080.

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foote, and kneele to the Pope for pardon. Which happened in the yeare 1080. Notwithstanding shortly after, there happened a new discord betwixt the Pope and Enrico. Wherupon the Pope again did excommunicate the Emperour, who sent forthwith his son (also called Enrico) with an army to Rome. He with the helpe of the Romanes (who hated the Pope) besieged him in his castle, till Roberto Guiscardo came from Puglia to the rescue. Enrico tarried not his comming, but returned alone into Germany. The Romanes persisted in their obstinacie: so that Rome was againe by Roberto sacked and brought unto the former ruine, notwithstanding it had bene lately by diverse Popes repaired. And because of this Roberto the kings of Naples be descended, it seemeth not superfluous particulerly to set downe his actions and discent. After the disunion happened among the heires of Carlo Magno, (as have bene before declared) the same occasioned a new people of the North, called Normandi to assaile France, and conquered that country, which is called of them, Normandia: of those people, some part came into Italy, in the time that the Berengarii, Saraseni and Unni troubled the same. They also tooke some townes in Romagna, which warres, they vertuously performed. Of those Normaine princes, one called Tancredi, begot diverse sonnes: amongst whom was Guglielmo surnamed Terabar, and Roberto called Guiscardo.

Rome sacked.

The discent
of the kings
of Napoli.

The principalitie being come to Guglielmo, and the tumults of Italy somewhat ceased, the Saraseni did notwithstanding still hold Sicilia, and continually made rodes upon the land of Italy. For which cause, Guglielmo agreed with the prince of Capova and Salerno, and with Melorco the Greeke, (who governed Puglia and Calauria for the Emperour of Greece) to assault Sicilia, and after victorie, it was condescended amongst them, to divide the places victored, by foure parts. This enterprise had fortunate successe, and the Saraseni driven out, they possessed Sicilia. After which victorie Melorco secretly caused men to come from Grecia, and for the Emperour tooke possession of the whole Iland, not dividing the spoyle, but tooke all to his owne share, wherewith Guglielmo became discontented, yet

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hiding his offence till a time more convenient, departed from Sicilia with the princes of Salerno, and Capova: who being departed upon the way homewards, Guglielmo returned not to Romagna, but with his souldiers marched towards Puglia, where he wonne Melfi. And shortly after (notwithstanding the forces of the Grecian Emperour) he possessed well neare all Puglia and Calauria. In which provinces, he governed in the time of Nicholao secundo.

Roberto Guiscardo his brother, having many differents with his nephewes, for the inheritance of land, used the authoritie of the Pope, to compound them. And the Pope did willingly favour him, being desirous to have the friendship of Roberto, to the end that against the Emperours of Germany, and the people of Rome, he might be defended, as in effect, it fell after out, and hath bene alreadie declared, how at the request of Gregorio septimo, he drave Enrico from the siege of Rome, and subdued the people therein. To Roberto succeeded Ruggero and Guglielmo, his sonnes. To their possessions he annexed Napoli, and all those lands which lie betweene Napoli and Rome. He gave also Sicilia unto Ruggero. But Guglielmo going afterwards to Constantinople to marry the Emperours daughter, was by Ruggero deprived of his Country. Ruggero after this victorie became insolent, and called himselfe king of Italy: yet after contented with the title of King of Puglia and Sicilia, was the first that gave name and lawe to that kingdome, which to this day within the auncient boundes thereof, is maintained. Notwithstanding it hath many times exchaunged both blood and Nation. Because the race of Normandie beeing worne out, the Kingdome came to the handes of the Germaines, from them, to the French men, from the French to the Aragonesi, and at this day it is possessed by the Flemmings.

Pope
Urbano 2.

Now was Urbano the second, become Pope, who being hated in Rome, and fearing through the disuniting of Italy, he could not in securitie there remaine: determined a glorious enterprise. First hee went into France, accompanied with all his Clergie, and in the citie of Anversa, he assembled many people: to whom he made a solemne Oration, wherin he persuaded an enterprise against the

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La Crociata.

Saraseni, which tooke so great effect, as the people were desirous to performe the same; which enterprise (with all others to that purpose) were called Crociata. For all those men that went in that iourney, weare upon their Armour and garments, a redde Crosse. The princes and chiefe leaders of that enterprise, were Gotfredi Eustachio, and Alduino di Bulgo, Earle of Bologna, with one Pietro an Hermit: who for his godlie life and wisdom was greatly respected. To this journey, manie Kinges contributed treasure, and manie private men without paie, therein personally served. So great effectes did the religion worke in those dayes, to perswade the mindes of men, moved with the example of such as were their heads. This enterprise had in the beginning glorious successe: for all Asia minor, Soria, and part of Egipt, were therein conquered by the Christians. At which time beganne the order of Knight-hood of Jerusalem, which to this day continueth, and is the chiefe obstacle to the Turkes. About that time also grew the order of the Knights, Templarii: which for their evil life was shortly after suppressed. In diverse times following, diverse accidents happened: wherin many nations and many particuler men were aduanced. For the furnishing of this enterprise, the Kinges of Fraunce and England, the Pisani, Venetians, and Genovesi, passed the sea, and gained great reputation, fighting in fortune variable, till the time of Saladino the Sarasine: whose vertue (the rather through discord of the Christians) did in the ende recover all, that before had bene gotten. So were the Christians after foure scorce and tenne yeares driven out of those Countries, which with great honour and happinesse they had wonne and defended.

The originall
of knights of
Jerusalem.

After the death of Urbano, Pascale secundo was created Pope: and Enrico the fourth became Emperour, who went to Rome, pretending friendship to the Pope, but beeing arrived there, by force hee tooke the Pope prisoner, and put him with all his Clergie in prison: from whence they could not bee discharged, till the Pope had graunted, that the Emperour might dispose of the Churches in Germany as himselfe thought good. Then died the Countesse Matilda, and made the Church heire of all her Countrey. After

Pope
Pascale 2.

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Pope
Alessandro 3.

the death of Pascale and Enrico the fourth, succeeded diverse Popes, and diverse Emperours, till at length, to the Papacie was elected Alissandro tertio, and to the Empire, Federigo Suevo called Barbarossa. The popes in that time had manie quarrelles with the people of Rome, and the Emperours: which were encreased in the raigne of Barbarossa. Federigo was a man of warre most excellent, but therewith so haughtie of minde and courage, as hee disdained to give place to the pope, notwithstanding, hee came to Rome to bee Crowned Emperour, and peaceably returned into Germanie: though hee remayned there not very long contented. For shortly after, he came againe into Italy to reforme some Towns in Lombardy, which would not obey him. At that time it happened, the Cardinal of S. Clement, by Nation a Romane, devided himselfe from the Pope Alissandro, and found meanes (by favour of some Cardinalls) to be also chosen Pope. At that instant, Federigo the Emperour was with his Armie before the Citie of Crema: to whom Alissandro complained of the Antipope; the Emperour answered, that both he and the Antipope should come unto him, and then he would decide their controversie, and judge which of them were true Pope. This answer displeased Alissandro, who conceaving thereby, that the Emperour was inclined to favour the Antipope, did excommunicate him, and fled to Phillip King of Fraunce. Federigo in the meane while, proceeding in the Warres of Lombardy, tooke Millan, and razed it: which was the cause, that Verona, Padova, and Vicenza (by common consent) determined to resist him. Then died the Antipope, in whose place Federigo created Guido of Cremona.

The Romanes by meanes of the Popes absence, and the busines of the Emperour in Lombardy, had recovered a little authoritie in Rome, and began to command some Townes under them: and because the Tusculani would not yeeld to their authoritie, they went popularly to assaile them; who being aided by Federigo, the Romanes were overthrowne with so great slaughter, as after that Overthrow Rome was never well peopled, nor rich. In this meane space, Pope Alissandro was returned to Rome, perswading himselfe that through the enmitie of the Romanes

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and Federigo, he might there safely remaine: and the rather, by reason of the Enemies which the Emperour had in Lombardy. Nevertheles, Federigo (setting aside all respectes) besieged Rome: where Alissandro tarried not his comming, but fled to Gulielmo King of Puglia, who after the death of Ruggiero remained Heire of that Kingdome. Federigo driven thence by the Plague, left the Siege, and returned into Germany.

The Townes of Lombardy which were rebelled, to the end they might the rather recover Pavia and Tortona, (which stood for the Emperour) built a new Cittie, to be the refuge of that Warre, calling the same Alissandria, in honour of the Pope Alissandro, and in despite of the Emperour Federigo. Then died Guidone Antipope: in whose place Giovanni of Fermo was created. He, through the favour of the Emperours Faction in Montefiascone, there dwelled: Pope Alissandro in the meane time was gone into Tuscolo, called thether by that People; hoping that with his authoritie he might defend them from the Romanes. Thither came Embassadors from Enrico King of England, to declare unto the Pope, that their King was not culpable in the murther of Thomas, Bishop of Canterbury, as he had bene publicquely slandered. For triall whereof, the Pope sent two Cardinals into England, to examine the truth of that matter: who found the King not guiltie. Nevertheles, in respect of the infamie, and that he had not honoured that holy Man according to his desert; they enjoyned the King for penance to assemble his Nobilitie, and in their presence to sweare and protest his innocencie: and was moreover commanded, that with all speed, he should at his proper charge send two hundred Souldiers to Jerusalem, and there paye them for one yeare; and himselfe within three yeares to goe thither in person, and lead with him an Armie the greatest that hee could possibly make: besides that, hee should disanull all things done within his Kingdome, to the prejudice of the Libertie Ecclesiasticall, and consent, that all and everie Subject of his might appeale to Rome. All which things Enrico graunted: and notwithstanding hee were a mightie King, submitted himselfe to that Judgement, which (at this day)

The King of
England put
to penance
by Pope
Alissandro.

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everie private man would be ashamed to yeeld unto. But notwithstanding the Popes great power over Princes farre off, yet could he not make himselfe obeyed of the Romanes: by whom hee was not suffered to dwell at Rome, though he promised not to intermeddle in anie thing, save only the Ecclesiasticall government. Hereby may be noted, that things which seeme to bee, and be not, are dreaded more farre of then feared neare at hand.

By this time, Federigo was returned to Italy, and being prepared to make new warres with the Pope, all his prelates and Barons gave him to understand, that they intended to leave him, unlesse he reconciled himselfe to the church: whereby this Emperour was constrained to go unto Venice, and there to adore the pope; whereof ensued a full pacification. In this peace the pope deprived the Emperour of all his authoritie in Rome, and named Gulielmo king of Sicilia and Puglia for his confederate, Federigo not content to live in peace, but loving the warres, determined to enterprise Asia, and so gain glory against Mahomet, which against the Pope he could not. But being arrived at the river Cidno, enticed with the excellencie of that water, hee washed himself therein, and sodenly died. Wherby may be imagined that water did more good to the Mahumetans, then the popes excommunication to the Christians: because the excommunication did only allay the Emperors ambition, but this water did utterly quench it. Federigo being dead, it remained onely for the pope to reforme the disobedience of the Romans: and after many disputations touching the creation of the Consuls, it was agreed, that (according to the ancient custom) they shuld be elected by the Romans: yet before they tooke their office upon them, they should sweare fidelitie to the church; which agreement, caused Giovanni the Antipope to flie to Monte Albano, where shortly after hee died. Then died also Gulielmo king of Napoli, who having one onely sonne called Tancredi, the pope determined to take that kingdome from him, but the nobilitie thereof would not consent to the pope, resolving to yeelde their obedience to Tancredi.

The death of
Federigo the
Emperor.

Pope
Celestino 3.

At that time Celestino tertio was pope, who desirous to take the kingdome from Tancredi, sought meanes that

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Enrico sonne of Federigo should be made Emperour, and promised him the kingdome of Naples, upon condition that he should restore unto the church all those townes thereunto belonging. And to make that action the more easie, hee tooke out of a monastery, Gostanza an olde woman, daughter of Gulielmo, and married her unto Federigo. Thus passed the kingdome of Naples to the Germaines from the Normands, who were the auncient founders thereof. So soone as Enrico the Emperour had settled all things in Germany, hee came into Italy, accompanied with Gostanza his wife, and his sonne, but foure yeares old, called Federigo. Where, with some difficultie (because Tancredi was dead, leaving onely a litle sonne called Rogeri) he possessed the kingdom. Within a small time after in Sicilia died Enrico, to whome Federigo succeeded in the kingdome, and to the Empire was elected Ottone Duke of Sassonia, through favour of pope Innocentio quarto. But so soone as he was crowned Emperour, contrary to all expectation, hee became enemie to the pope, surprised Romagna, and prepared to assault the kingdome. For which dooing, the pope did excommunicate him, all other men left him, and the electors created Federigo king of Napoli. Then came Federigo to Rome for the crowne, but the pope fearing his greatnesse, denied him, and sought to remoove him out of Italy, as hee had done before to Ottone. Therewith Federigo offended, went into Germany, and made much warre against Ottone, and at length overthrew him. In the meane while died Innocentio, who (besides other his notable workes) builded the Hospitall of Santo spirito in Rome. After him succeeded Honorio tertio, in whose time, beganne the orders of Santo Dominico and Francisco, the yeare 1218. This pope crowned Federigo, unto whome Giovanni descended of Bauldovino king of Jerusalem, who (with the remaine of the Christians in Asia still possessed that title) gave his kingdome to his daughter in marriage. Hereof it commeth, that who so ever is King of Napoli, is also intituled king of Jerusalem. Italy in those dayes was thus governed. The Romaynes made no more Consuls in Rome, but in stead of them, they created (with the same authoritie) sometimes one, and sometime more Senators. The league

Pope
Innocentio 4.

Pope
Honorio 3
erector of
the order of
S. Francisco
Anno 1218.

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which the cities of Lombardy had made against Federigo Barbarossa, still continued. The Cities confedered against the Emperour, were Milano, Brescia, Mantova, with the greater part of Romagna: and with them Verona, Vicenza, Padova, and Trevigi. On the Emperours part, were Cremona, Bergamo, Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Trento. The other Cities and Castles of Lombardy, Romagna, and La Marca Trevigiana, according to their necessitie, favoured somtimes the one, and sometimes the other part.

Ezelino.

In the time of Ottone the third, came into Italy a man called Ezelino, of whom remained one sonne, who likewise begot an other Ezelino, he being rich and mightie, folowed Federigo the second, who was (as hath bene before said) enemy to the Pope. This Emperour brought into Italy, by the favour of Ezelino, tooke Verona and Mantova, razed Vicenza, surprized Padova, and vanquished the army of the townes confederate: and in the end, marched towards Toscana. Ezelino in the meane time, surprized La Marca Trivigiana, but he could not take Ferrara, being defended by Azone of Este, and other soldiers sent by the Pope from Lombardy. The siege then levied, the Pope gave that citie in Feudo to Azone of Este, of whome be descended all those princes, that till this day have there governed. Federigo staied at Pisa, and being desirous to become Lord of Toscana, the rather to possesse the same, and discover those that favoured him, from the other that were his enemies, practised division among the people of the country, which was afterwards the ruine of all Italy. Because then the factions of Guelfi and Ghibellini encreased, calling them Guelfi that followed the Pope, and Ghibellini that followed the Emperour. In Pistoia, these names of faction, were first begun.

Azone de Este
first Duke of
Farrara.

The Empe-
ror forced to
entertaine
Sarasins.

Federigo leaving Pisa, by many meanes assaulted and spoiled the townes belonging to the church: Insomuch, that the Pope not having other remedie, proclaimed his Crociata against him, as did his predecessours against the Saraseni. Federigo then fearing to be abandoned by his souldiers (as Federigo Barbarossa and other Emperours had bene) entertained great numbers of Sarasins, and to make them more willing to serve (knowing that they feared not the Popes

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BOOKE

Pope
Innocent 4.

curses) he gave them the citie of Nocera in the kingdome : perswading himselfe, that they having that refuge, might serve him with the more securitie. Innocentio quarto became Pope, and mistrusting Federigo, went to Genova, and from thence into France : and called a Councell at the citie of Lions. Whereunto Federigo determined to goe, but was withholden by the rebellion of Parma : from which enterprise repulsed, he went into Toscana, and thence, into Sicilia, where he died, leaving in Suevia his eldest sonne Corrado, and in Puglia his other sonne, (being base borne) called Manfredi, whome hee had made Duke of Benevento. Corrado beeing come for possession of the kingdome, arrived at Napoli, and there died, leaving one litle sonne called Curradino : who at that time remained in Germany. Then Manfredi (first as governour to Curradino, and after reporting that Curradino was dead) against the Popes will, and the Neapolitans also (whom he forced to consent) made himselfe king. During these troubles in the kingdome, happened many quarrels betweene the factions of Guelfi and Ghibilini, the one being favoured by the Popes Legate, and the other by Ezelino, who possessed welneare all Lombardy, on the other side of the river Po. And because in this warre, the citie of Padova rebelled, Ezelino put to death twelve thousand Cittizens thereof, and he himselfe before the end of the warre, being then thirtie yeares of age, was slaine.

The death of
Ezelino.

After his death, all the townes by him possessed became free. Manfredi king of Napoli, according to the custome of his auncestors, continued enemie to the church, holding the Pope (called Urbano quarto) in continuall distresse : in so much as the Pope proclaymed the Crociata against him ; which done, hee went unto Perugia, where hee remained, aspecting his souldiers. Who (comming thither slowly and in small numbers) thought that to vanquish Manfredi, those forces were not sufficient. He therefore praied aide in France, of Carlo Duke of Angio, brother to king Lodovico, creating him king of Sicilia, and Napoli, desiring him to come into Italy, and take possession of those kingdomes. But before Carlo could come to Rome, that Pope died, and Clemente quarto elected. In whose time, Carlo with thirtie

Pope
Urbano 4.

Pope
Clement 4.

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Pope
Adriano 5.

The ambition
of Popes, a
ruyne to
Italy.

Pope
Adriano 3.

gallies came to Ostia, appointing the rest of his army to march thither by land. During his aboad in Rome, the Romanes to honour him, made him a Senator of Rome, and the Pope invested him in the kingdome, with condition he should paie yearely fiftie thousand florines to the church. The Pope also decreed, that neither Carlo, nor none of his successours in that kingdome, should ever be elected Emperours. Carlo then went on in his journey against Manfredi, whom he vanquished and slew, neare to Benevento, whereby hee possessed Sicilia, and the kingdome. Notwithstanding Curradino, to whome by testament of his father that kingdome appertained, assembling great forces in Germany, came into Italy against Carlo, and fought with him at Tagliacozzo, where he was overthrowne; and being disguised, fled: yet afterwards was taken, and slaine. Italy then continued quiet, till the raigne of Adriano quinto, at which time, Carlo dwelling in Rome, and governing there by the office of Sennatour, the Pope could not endure his authoritie, and therefore went to inhabit at Viterbo: from thence he sent unto Ridolpho the Emperour, desiring him to come into Italy against Carlo. Thus the Popes sometimes for love of religion, and sometimes for their owne ambition, ceased not to call into Italy newe men, and stirre up newe warres. For so soone as any prince was by them made mightie, repenting the same, they practised his overthrow. Neither would they suffer that anie should possesse that Countrey, which themselves (through their weakenesse) could not. Yet did the Princes alwaies feare them, because either by fighting or flying, they prevailed: if they were not by some practise oppressed, as was Bonifacio octavo, and some others who were taken by colour of friendship, which the Emperours to them pretended. Ridolpho came not into Italy, beeing withholden with his warres against the King of Bohemia.

In the meane time died Adriano, and in his place was created Nicholao tertio, descended of the house of Orsini, a man verie bolde and ambitious. Hee by all meanes possible sought to diminish the authoritie of Carlo: and devised that Ridolpho the Emperour should complaine, that Carlo maintained a governour in Toscana in favour of the

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FIRST
BOOKE

Guelfi. Carlo gave credite unto the Emperour, and revoked thence his governour. And the Pope forthwith sent thither one of his nephewes a Cardinall, to be governour for the Empire. So that the Emperour for this honor done unto him by the Pope, restored Romagna unto the Church, which by his auncestors had bene taken away. The Pope then created Bertoldo Orsino, Duke of Romagna. And imagining himselfe mightie inough to shewe his face to Carlo, tooke from him the office of Senatour: and made a decree, that no man descended of royall race, should after possesse that dignitie. He had also devised to take Sicilia from Carlo, and practised with Piero king of Aragon: whiche practise in the time of his successour tooke effect. He intended moreover, to make two new kings of his owne house, the one in Lombardy, the other in Tuscan: whose powers might defend the church, both from the Germaines that would attempt to come into Italy, and from the French men, who were alreadie in Napoli. But with this determination, he died. And was the first Pope, that openly manifested his own ambition; practising (under colour to make the church great) to honour and enrich his owne kindred. For as before this time, no mention was made of the advancement of Popes kinsfolkes or posteritie, so afterwards, every historie doth shew, that the Popes have studied for nothing more, then how to advance their owne blood. And as heretofore they have laboured to make them princes, so (if it were in their power) they would now procure the Papacy to be heritable. Yet true it is, that hitherto all principalities by them erected, have had no long being, for so soone as that Pope (who ordeined their advancement) did faile, the honour of the person advanced, decayed with him.

Then Martino tertio became Pope, who being a French man, favoured Carlo, and in his aide, sent souldiers unto Romagna which then rebelled. And his campe being before Furlly, Guido Bonati (a man learned in Astrologie) perswaded the people, that so soone as hee gave them a token, they should presently assault their enemies, which they did, and in that victory, al the French men were taken and slain. About this time, the practise of Nicholao tertio

Pope
Martino 3.

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with Piero King of Aragon, was put in execution. By meanes whereof, the people of Sicilia murdered all the French men that could be found in that Iland: which done, King Piero tooke possession, alledging, that having married Gostanza daughter of Manfredi, that country to him apperteined. Carlo preparing for a new war to recover his losse, died: leaving one sonne called Carlo the second. Who being taken prisoner in the war of Sicilia, and desirous of libertie, promised to returne to prison, if within three yeares he could not obtaine of the Pope, that the house of Aragon should be invested to the kingdom of Sicilia. Ridolpho the Emperour, intending to have come into Italy, and recovered the reputation of the Empire, came not, but sent thither an Ambassador with authoritie to give freedome to all those cities, which would buy the same at his hands: as many did, and with their libertie, chaunged also their maner of living.

Pope Celestino and Bonifacio 8.

Then succeeded to the Empire Adulpho of Sassonia, and to the Papacy Pietro Murone, named Pope Selestino: who being an Hermit and full of devotion, within seven moneths recovered the Papacy, and Bonefacio Octavo was elected. The heavens knowing a time would come, when Italy should be delivered, both from the French men and Almaines, and that the country might be recovered wholly in possession of Italians, to the end the Pope failing of straungers, might not be able to hold his reputation, caused two mightie families to arise in Rome. The one called Orsini, the other Colonna: whose power and nearenesse, might keep downe the Popes from aspiring. The Pope Bonifacio aware therof, practised to extirpate the Colonna, and did for that purpose not onely excommunicate them, but also against them published the Crociata. Which proceeding, although it somewhat offended them, yet did it much more offend the church: because those swords which in defence of the faith had vertuously prevailed, being employed for private ambition against the Christians, became blunt: and so the Popes desire to enforce the minds of others, wrought a contrary effect, and by litle and litle disarmed themselves. This Pope did also depose two Cardinals of that house of Colonna, and the chiefe of them called Sciarra, disguised him-

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selfe, and fled. Afterwards being taken by Pirates, was made a slave in a galley, til arrived at Marsilia, was there by fortune knowne, redeemed, and sent into France to King Philippo, who had bene excommunicate, and deprived of his kingdom by Bonifacio.

Philippo considering with himselfe, that to make warres with the Pope, either he was not strong enough, or should therin adventure great dangers: determined to worke by practise, and pretending to procure peace with the Pope, sent secretly Sciarri into Italy, who being come to Anagnia, where the Pope then was, with the aide of friends in the night tooke him. And albeit the people of that towne did shortly after deliver him, yet of verie melancholly and sorrow, the Pope distraught of his wits, died. This Bonifacio was he that ordeined the Guibileo, in the yeare 1300, and commanded that every hundreth yeare, the same should be so solemnized. After that time happened many troubles betweene the factions of Guilfi and Ghibellini. And by reason that Italy was abandoned by the Emperors, many towns became free, and many others by tyrants possessed. Pope Benedetto restored the Hat to the Cardinals Colonesi, and absolved Philippo the French King. To him succeeded Clemente quinto, who being a French man, removed his court into France in the year 1306.

Pope Bonifacio inventor of the Guibileo.

Pope Clement 5.

In the meane space Carlo the second King of Napoli, died. To that kingdom succeeded Robarto his sonne: and to the Empire, Arrigo of Lucemburgh: who notwithstanding the absence of the Pope from Rome, went thither to be crowned. By meane of that journey, grew many troubles in Lombardy, because all those that had been banished, either Guelfi or Ghibellini were admitted to returne to their townes, and there being, made so great quarrels among themselves, as the Emperour with all his power could not appease. The Emperour then departed from Lombardy to Genova, and so to Pisa, where he practised to take Toscana from the king Robarto. But having no success, went on to Rome, where he remained not long, being driven out by the Orsini, and the friends of King Robarto. Then returned he to Pisa, where he devised (for his better proceeding in the wars of Toscana, and the rather also to remoove king

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Robarto from his government) that Frederigo king of Sicilia should assault those countries. But at such time, as hee hoped (at one instant) to performe both those enterprises, he died : and Lodovico of Baviera, was chosen Emperour.

Pope John 22. In this meane space, was created Giovanni 22. In whose dayes the Emperour ceased not to persecute the Guelfi, and the church which was chiefly defended by king Robarto, and the Florentines. Wherof grew great warre in Lombardy, by the Visconti, against the Guelfi, and in Toscana, by Castruccio of Luca, against the Florentines. And because the family of Visconti, was that which beganne the Duke-dome of Milan (one of the five principallities that governed Italy) I thinke good more at large hereafter to intreate of them. After that the league of the cities of Lombardy was concluded, (as hath bene beforesaid) and they resolved to defend themselves from Federigo Barbarossa : Milan also being repaired of the ruines, conspired with those cities of the league, to be revenged of former injuries. Which league brideled Barbarossa, and for a time gave countenance to the faction of the church then in Lombardy.

During these warres, the house of Torre grew to great reputation, so long as the Emperours had in that country small authoritie. But when Federigo the second, was come into Italy, and the Ghibellini (through the helpe of Ezelino) became strong, the humour of Ghibilini sprung up in every citie, and the house of Visconti, taking part with that faction, chased out of Milan the family of Torre : yet were they not long out, but by meane of a peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, hee with his Court beeing in France, and Arrigo of Lucimburg going to Rome for the Crowne, was received into Milan, by Maffeo Visconti, and Guido della Torre, who at that time were chiefe of those houses : yet Maffeo intending by helpe of the Emperour to drive Guido out of the Citie, and supposing that enterprise the more likely, because Guido was in faction contrary to the Empire : hee tooke occasion upon the complaints of the people against the evil demeanor of the Germans, sliely perswading and encouraging every man to take Armes, and deliver themselves from the servitude of that barbarous nation. And when all things were made ready, he caused a

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secret minister of his to moove a tumult. Whereat, all the people tooke Armes against the name of Germany, and Maffeo with his sonnes and followers, suddenly armed, went to Arrigo, letting him understand, that this tumult proceeded from those of the house of Torre: who not contented to live private in Milan, tooke occasion to spoyle him, gratifie the Guelfi of Italy, and make themselves princes of that citie. Notwithstanding, hee perswaded the Emperour to be of good cheare, for they and their followers would in every respect save and defend him. Arrigo beleevd all that which Maffeo had spoken, and joyning his forces with the Visconti, assailed those Della Torre. Who beeing dispersed in diverse places of the Cittie to appease the tumult, so many of them as could be found were slaine, and the rest spoyled and sent into Italy. Maffeo Visconti, thus made (as it were) prince of Milan, had diverse sonnes, the chiefe of them were called Galiazzo, and Azo: and after them, Luchino and Giovanni. Giovanni became Archbishop of that Cittie, and of Luchino (who died before him) remained Barnabo, and Galiazzo called Conte de Vertu. He, after the death of the Archbishop, killed Barnabo his uncle, and so became onely prince of Milan, and was the first that had the title of Duke. Of him descended Philipppo and Giovan Mariangilo who being slaine by the people of Milan, the state remained onely to Philipppo, and he having no heires male, the Dukedome was translated from the house of Visconti to the Sforzi, as shall be hereafter declared. But to returne to our matter, Lodovico the Emperour to give reputation to his faction, and take the Crowne, came into Italy, and being arrived at Milan, to the end he might leavy mony of the Milanesi, offred to make them free, and for prooffe thereof imprisoned the Visconti. Afterwards, by mediation of Castruccio of Lucca, delivered them, and went to Rome. Then the more easily to disturbe Italy, he made Piero de la Corvara, Antipope: by whose authoritie and the force of Visconti, he hoped to keep downe the contrary faction, both in Toscana and Lombardy. But Castruccio then died, which was the cause of his ruine: for Pisa and Lucca presently rebelled. And the Pisani sent the Antipope prisoner to the Pope, then remaining in France.

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A practise of
Ma. Visconts
against the
house of
Torre.

The meane
how the Vis-
conti aspired
to be Dukes
of Milan.

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The king of
Boemia called
into Italy.

Whereupon the Emperour despairing of his enterprise in Italy, returned to Germany.

So soone as he was gone, Giovanni king of Bohemia, came into Italy, called thither by the Ghibilini of Brescia, and possessed that Citie, with one other called Bergamo. And forasmuch as the comming of this king was with consent of the Pope (although hee fained the contrarie) the Legate of Bologna favoured him: imagining, for that cause the Emperour would no more returne into Italy, by whose departure thence, the country was greatly altered. The Florentines and the king Robarto, seeing that the Legate favoured the enterprise of the Ghibilini, became enemies to all those that the Legate and the king of Bohemia favoured: against whom (without respect of Guelfi or Ghibilini) many princes joyned. Among them were the Visconti, the family of La Scala Filippino Gonzaga of Mantova, the house of Carrara, and Este: wherupon the Pope did excommunicate them all. The king for feare of this league, went home to assemble more forces, and returned with them into Italy, and had (though hardly) the victorie, and then (though with displeasure of the Legate) returned to Bohemia, leaving onely Reggio, and Modena, manned: recommending Parma to Marsilio and Piero de Rossi, who were in that citie of most power. He being gone, Bologna revolted to the league, and divided among them, foure Citties appertaining to the church: allotting Parma to the house of Scala, Reggio to Gonzaga, Modena to Este, and Lucca to the Florentines. During the conquest of these Cities, grew great warres, but they were chiefly by the Venetians, compounded. It may perhaps be thought strange, that among so many accidents of Italy, I have omitted to speak of the Venetians common weale, being for the order and power thereof, to be preferred before everie other principallitie. To satisfie that admiration, the cause thereof being knowne, I wil looke backward to time long since passed: and declare what beginning that Cittie had.

The originall
of Vinegia.

King Attila at such time as he besieged Aquilegia, the inhabitants of that towne (having long defended themselves, and despairing) fled with their goods to the rocks within the point of Mare Adriatico. The Padovani seeing the fire at

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hand, and fearing that Aquilegia being wonne, Attila would assault them ; carried all their moveables of most value into the same sea, to a place there called Rivoalto : whither they also sent their wives, children, and aged men, leaving the youth to defend the citie. Aquilegia being taken, Attila defaced Padova, Monselice, Vicenza, and Verona. The Padovani and the chiefe of the others, seated themselves in the marishes about Rivoalto. Likewise all the people of that province (which was aunciently called Venetia) were driven out by the same misfortune, did also flie thither. Thus constrained by necessitie, they abandoned faire and fertile countries, to inhabit these steril and paludious places void of all commoditie. And yet, because great numbers of people were at one instant come thither, they made that place not onely habitable, but also pleasant : ordeining among themselves lawes and orders, which amidst so great ruines of Italy, they observed ; and within short space encreased in force and reputation. For besides the inhabitants aforesaid, many of the cities of Lombardy (chiefly those that feared the cruelty of their king Clefi) fled thither, which was no small encrease to that citie. So that in the time of Pipino king of France, when at the request of the Pope, he came to drive the Lombardi out of Italy, it was agreed in Capitulations, betwixt him and the Emperour of Grecia, that the Duke of Benevento and the Venetians, should be subjects neither to the one nor the other, but among themselves enjoy libertie. Moreover, considering that as necessitie had driven them to dwell within the water, so it behoved them without helpe of the firme land, to seeke meanes wherby they might procure their own livelihood. For which purpose they made ships and gallies, and with them sailed throughout the world, and filled their citie with sundry sorts of marchandise, whereof other men having necessitie, required free accesse unto them. At that time and many yeares after, the Venetians thought not uppon other dominions, then those where the traffique of their marchandise might safely arrive. Then they wan divers havens in Grecia, Soria, and in the passages that the French men made in Asia : because they oftentimes employing the Venetian shippes, appointed unto them, (as a

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reward) the Ile of Candia. While in this estate and order they lived, their name by sea was terrible, and upon the firme land of Italy venerable. So that in all controversies that happened, they were (for the most part) arbitrators: as in controversies which rose in the league, by reason of those cities which they had divided amongst them. For that controversie being recommended to the Venetians, they ordered that Bargamo and Brescia should appertaine to the Visconti. But in processe of time having conquered Padova, Vicenza, Trivigi, Verona, Bargamo, Brescia, with diverse cities in the kingdom, and Romagna, (entised with desire of government) they attained so great an opinion of power and reputation, that not only of the princes of Italy, but also of the kings beyond the mountaines they became feared. Wherupon those princes conspiring together, tooke from them in one day, all the states and countries which they in many yeares, and with infinite expences had gained. And though in these late times they have recovered part, yet not recovering their forces and reputation, do (like all other princes of Italy) remaine at the devotion and discretion of others.

The decree of
Pope Bene-
detto 12
against the
Emperour.

Now was Benedetto 12 come to the Papacy, who seeing himselfe driven out of Italy, and fearing that the Emperour Lodovico should become Lord thereof, determined to make all those his friends, who had usurped the townes which the Emperour possessed. To the end, that thereby they should have cause to feare the Empire, and joyne with him in the defence of Italy. For the more assurance of this attempt, he made a decree, that all tyrants of Lombardy should by just title possesse the townes by them usurped. But the Pope presently upon this grant, died, and Clemente sexto, elected in his place. The Emperour then seeing with what liberalitie the Pope had given the towns belonging to the Empire, determined to be no lesse liberall of the Popes goods, then the Pope had bene of his: and therefore gave freely all lands belonging to the church, which any tyrant had usurped; and they to hold them, by authoritie imperiall. By meane whereof, Galiotto Malatesti and his brethren became Lords of Rimino, Pesaro, and Fano. Anthonio di Montefeltro of la Marca and Urbin: Gentile da Varano

The Empe-
rours decree
to the Popes
prejudice.

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of Camerino. Guido di Polenta of Ravenna. Sinibaldo Ordalaffi of Furli, and Cesena: Giovanni Manfredi of Faenza, Lodovico Alidosi, of Imola. Besides these, many others possessed towns belonging to the church: so as few remained out of the hands of one Prince or other, which was the cause that the Church (till the comming of Alissandro 6) was holden downe and weake; but he with the ruine of these Lords or their posteritie, restored the same. At such time as the Emperour made this grant, he remained at Trento, and seemed as thogh he would passe from thence into Italy; wherby grew many warres in Lombardy: and by that occasion, the Visconti became Lords of Parma.

Then died king Robarto of Napoli: of whom remained only two grand children, women, begotten by Carlo his Son, who long before was dead; bequeathing his kingdom to the elder of them, called Giovanna, whom he willed to marrie with Andrea sonne to the K. of Ungaria his nephew. This Andrea continued not long her husband, but was by her murdered, and she married anew to a brother in law of his, called Lodovico prince of Tarranto. But K. Lodovico brother to Andrea, to revenge his death, came with Forces into Italy, and drave the Q. Giovanna with her husband out of the kingdom. About this time hapned in Rome a thing very memorable, which was, that one called Nicholo di Lorenzo Chancellor in the Campidoll, drave the Senators out of Rome, and made himself (under title of Tribuno) chiefe of the Romane Common weale: reducing the same into the ancient forme of government, with so great reputation of justice and vertue, as not only the townes nere hand, but also al Italy sent Embassadors unto him. Whereby, the ancient provinces, seeing Rome restored, looked up; and some of them moved with feare, and some with hope, honoured him. But Nicholo (notwithstanding so great authoritie, in the beginning of this action, abandoned himselfe; and despairing (as it seemeth) to performe so great an enterprise, not being inforced by any man, secretly fled, and went to King Carlo of Bohemia: who by order of the pope (in despite of Lodovico of Baviera, elected Emperour) apprehended Nicholo, and sent him to the Pope prisoner.

Giovanna
Q. of Naples.

Nicholo di
Lorenzo.

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Francesco
Baroegli.

A while after, (as it were to imitate this Nicholo) another man called Francesco Baroegli, surprized the Tribunate, and drave thence the Senators. Upon which accident, the Pope (the rather to repress that disorder) tooke Nicholo out of prison, restored him to the Tribuneship, and sent him to Rome. Nicholo there arrived, exercised the office, and put Francesco to death. But the Colonnese being enemies to Nicholo, shortly after killed him also, and restored the Senators to their places.

Q. Giovanna
deposed.

In the meane time, the King of Ungaria having deposed the Queene Giovanna, returned to his Kingdome. The Pope liking better the neighborhood of the Queene than of that King, found meanes that he was pleased to restore the Kingdome: upon condition, that the Queenes husband should content himselfe with the title of Tarranto, and not be called King. The yeare 1350 being come, the Pope thought good that the Giubileo erected by Pope Bonifacio octavo at the end of everie hundred yeare, might be reduced to fiftie yeare, and made a Decree, that afterwards so it should be. The Romanes receaving the same as a benefit, were content the pope should send to Rome foure Cardinalls to reforme the state of that Cittie, and make Senators there, those, whom himselfe thought good. The Pope also proclaymed Lodovico of Tarranto King of Napoli: for which favor, the Queen Giovanna gave unto the Church the Citie of Avignon, which was her patrimony. By this time Luchino Visconti was dead, wherby Giovanni Archbishop of Millan remained only Lord of that state, who made many warres upon Toscana, and other countries his neighbors and therby became exceeding mightie. After his death succeeded Barnabo and Galiazzo his nephewes: but within short space Galiazzo died, leaving one sonne called Giovan Galiazzo, who divided that State with Barnabo. At this time Carlo K. of Bohemia was Emperor, and Innocentio 6 Pope; who sent into Italy Cardinall Egidio, by Nation a Spaniard, who with his vertue recovered great reputation to the Church, not onely in Romagna and Rome, but also throughout al Italy. He restored Bologna, usurped by the Archbishop of Millan: he constrained the Romanes to receive one Stranger to bee a Senator, who yearely should be sent by the Pope: he

Pope Inno-
centio sexto.

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made honourable composition with the Visconti: he vanquished and tooke prisoner John Aguto an English-man, who with foure thousand of his owne Nation served in Toscana to the ayde of the Ghibelini.

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Urbano quinto being come to the Papacie, and understanding of so manie Victories, determined to visite Italy and Rome: whether also came Carlo the Emperour; who (after a few months) went to the Kingdome, and the Pope to Avignon. Urbano being dead, Gregorio duodecimo was created: and because then died the Cardinall Egidio, Italy was returned to trouble, occasioned by the Townes confederate against the Visconti. Whereupon the Pope sent first a Legate into Italy with sixe thousand Brittaines, after in person followed himselfe, and setled the Court in Rome, in the year 1376, which had continued from thence in Fraunce 71 yeares. After the death of this Pope, was created Urbano sexto. Shortly after at Fondi, ten Cardinals (who said Urbano was not well chosen) elected Clemente octavo. Then the Genovesi (who divers yeares had lived under government of the Visconti) rebelled. Betwixt them and the Venetians (for the Iland called Tenedo) grew Warres of great importance, and devided all Italy. In these Warres was great Shot and Artillarie first seene, as Instruments then newly devised by the Almaines. And albeit the Genovesi had for a time in this Warre the advantage, and divers moneths besieged Venice, yet in the end the Venetians had the better, and by mediation of the Pope made peace, in the year 1381. Then chaunced a schisme in the Church, and Queene Giovanna favored the Antipope: for which cause, Urbano practised an enterprise against her, and sent Carlo Durezzo (descended of the Kings of Napoli) into the Kingdome; who there arrived, possessed himselfe, and forced the Queene to flye unto Fraunce. The French King therewith offended, sent Lodovico de Angio into Italy, to recover the Kingdome for the Queene, remove the Pope Urbano, and put the Antipope into possession: but Lodovico in the midst of this enterprice died, and his Souldiers returned into Fraunce.

Pope
Urbano 5.

The Papall
court re-
turned to
Rome.
An. 1376.

Greatartillery
first used in
Italy 1376.

The Pope in the meane while, went unto Napoli, where hee imprisoned nine Cardinals, for having followed the

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faction of France, and the Antipope. That done, he quarelled with the king, for not having made a nephew of his Prince of Capova : yet faining not to force much thereof, desired to have Nocera for his dwelling, where afterwards he assembled great forces, and practised to deprive the king. (The king then marching towards him,) the Pope tarried not, but fled to Genova, where he executed those Cardinals whom he had before imprisoned. From thence he went to Rome, and there to give himselfe reputation, created 28 Cardinals. At this time went Carlo king of Napoli to Ungaria, and was created king, and shortly after slaine : having left in Napoli his wife with two children, Ladislao and Giovanna. At this time also, Giovanni Galiazzo Visconti, had murdered Barnabo his uncle, and taken into his hands the state of Milan. And not content with the Dukedome of all Lombardy, he sought to be also Lord of Toscana. But when he hoped to have taken the possession, and be crowned king of Italy, died. Next unto Urbano sexto, succeeded Bonifacio nono. Then died also in Avignon the Antipope Clemente septimo. And in his place was elected Benedetto 13. In these dayes lived in Italy many souldiers of forreine nations, English men, Almaines, and Britaines : brought thither partly by those Princes who many times had served in Italy, and partly sent by the Popes, when they remained in Avignon. Against these people, the princes of Italy long time made warre, and at length Lodovico da Conio arose, who making a company of Italians, calling the same S. Giorgio, their vertue and discipline tooke from the straungers all reputation, and brought the same to the Italians : of whom ever after the princes of Italy, in all their wars were served. The Pope by reason of the controversie betwixt him and the Romanes, went unto Scesi, where he remained till the Jubileo in the yeare 1400. At which time, the Romanes for their profit were content he should returne to Rome, and also place there one Senator at his election : and therewith also to fortifie the Castle of S. Angelo. With these conditions the Pope returned, and the rather to enrich the Church, he ordained that everie Benefice falling void, should pay the first frutes into the treasure house.

Pope Bene-
detto 13.

The first
frutes of
Benefices
taken by the
Pope.

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After the death of Giovan Galiazzo Duke of Milan, albeit he left two sonnes called Giovanniariangelo and Philippo, yet his Countrey became divided into manie parts. And in the troubles which thereby happened, Giovanniariangelo was slaine, and Philippo for a time remained prisoner in the Castle of Pavia: yet by good fortune, and favour of the Captaine, was set at libertie. Among others that usurped the possessions of this Duke, was Gulielmo Della Scalla: who (being a banished man) remained in the hands of Francesco de Carrara Lord of Padova; through whom he recovered the State of Verona, which hee enjoyed not long, because Francesco procured him to be poisoned, and surprized the Cittie. Thereuppon the Vicentini (having lived quietly under the ensigne of the Visconti, and fearing the greatnes of Francesco) yeilded their obedience to the Venetians: who presently tooke armes against the Lord of Padova, and first deprived him of Verona, and afterwards wan the Cittie of Padova.

In the meane space died Bonifacio, and Innocentio septimo. Pope Innocentio 7. was elected Pope: to whom the people of Rome presented an humble request; desiring it might please his Holines to deliver into theyr hands the Fortresses, and restore them to their libertie: which sute the Pope denied. The people then praied aid of Ladislao King of Napoli; yet afterwards falling to agreement, the Pope returned to Rome, being fled from thence for feare of the people, and remained at Viterbo, where he had created a nephew of his to bee Earle of La Marca; which done, hee shortly after died, and Gregorio duodecimo was created Pope: with condition, that hee should resigne the Papacie, whensoever the Antipope did the like. By perswasion of the Cardinals, intending to make prooffe, whether the Church could bee reunited or not; Benedetto Antipope came to Porto Venere, and Gregorio to Luca: where they practised manie matters, but nothing tooke effect; so that the Cardinals (both of the one and the other Pope) did forsake them. Pope Benedetto went into Spaine, and Gregorio to Rimini. The Cardinals on the other part, with the favour of Baldassarre Cossa Cardinall and Legate of Bologna, ordained a Councell at Pisa, where they created Alissandro quinto, who did excommunicate

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K. Ladislao
deposed by
pope Alissandro 5.

Three popes
at one time.

The Church
after fortie
yeares divi-
sion, was
united.

Ladislao, giving that Kingdome to Luigi de Angio: and then with the aide of the Florentines, Genovesi, and Venetians, together with Baldaser Cossa Legate, assaulted Ladislao, and tooke from him Rome. But in the heate of this warre died Alissandro, and Baldaser Cossa was elected, calling himselfe Giovanni vicessimo tertio. He, departing from Bologna (beeing there made Pope) went from thence to Rome, and there met Luigi de Angio, come thither with a Navie from Provenza. Then presently they assaulted Ladislao, and overthrew him: yet through the default of their Leaders, the victorie was not followed; by meanes whereof, within short space after, the King recovered an Armie, and againe surprized Rome. The Pope then fled to Bologna, and Luigi to the province. The Pope imagining how he might diminish the greatnes of Ladislao, found meanes that Sigismondo King of Ungaria should be chosen Emperour, perswading him to come into Italy; which he did, and met with the Pope at Mantova. There they agreed to call a Councell generall, and therein to reunite the Church: the rather to become able to withstand the force of their enemies. At that time were three Popes, Gregorio, Benedetto, and Giovanni, who made the Church exceeding weake, and without reputation. The place elected for this Councell, was Costanza a Citie of Germanie. But contrarie to the expectation of Giovanni, the death of Ladislao, removed the occasion of Councell: notwithstanding, being alreadie bound by promise, hee could not refuse to goe thither. Being arrived at Costanza (overlate knowing this error) he practised to flie thence, but was there staid, put in prison, and constrained to resigne the Papacie. Gregorio also the other Antipope, by his messenger resigned. Benedetto the third Antipope, refusing to resigne, was condemned for an heriticke, and being abandoned by his Cardinals, was in the end enforced to resigne. The Councell then created Oddo Colonna, who was called Pope Martino quarto. And so the Church, after fortie yeares of division was united, having bene all that time in the hands of diverse Popes.

In those dayes, (as hath bene before said) Philippo Visconti, remained in the Castle of Pavia. But Fantino Cane, who (during the troubles of Lombardy) possessed himselfe

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of Vercelli, Allisandria, Novara Tortona, and had also gathered great riches, then died. And not having anie heire, bequeathed his possessions to Beatrice his wife; desiring his friendes to procure she might be married to Philippo. By which marriage, Philippo became potent, and recovered Milan, with all the state of Lombardy. Afterwards, to declare himselfe thankfull for so great a benefit, he accused Beatrice of adulterie, and put her to death. Thus attained to be a Prince most mightie, he beganne to thinke upon the warres of Toscana, before intended by his father Giovan Galiazzo. Ladislao King of Napoli, at his death, left unto his sister Giovanna, not onely the kingdome, but also a great Armie, governed by the principall Leaders of all Italy. Among the chiefe of whom, was Sforzadi Contignuola, in those dayes a man of warre, of singular reputation. The Queene (the rather to eschue a slaunder by one Pandolfello a man brought up by her selfe) tooke to husband Jacobo Della Marchia, who was descended from the French Kings, upon condition that hee would content himselfe to be called Prince of Tarranto; and suffer her to enjoy the kingdome, with the government thereof. Notwithstanding, so soone as he arrived at Naples, the souldiers called him King, whereof great warres followed betwixt the wife and the husband: and sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, had the upper hand. But in the end, the Queene remained governour of the state, and afterwards became enemie to the Pope. Thereupon Sforza intending to drive her to a disadvantage, and inforce her to be glad of him, contrarie to all expectation gave up his entertainment, by which meanes she remained utterly disarmed, and not having other, fled for aid to Alfonso King of Arragon and Sicilia, adopting him her sonne, and entertained Braccio di Montone: who was in Armes no lesse esteemed, then was Sforza, and therewithall enemy to the Pope, for having surprized Perugia, with some other townes belonging to the church. Afterwards a peace was taken betweene her and the Pope. Then the King Alfonso doubting least she would entreat him as she had intreated her husband) fought secretly to possesse the Fortresses. But she being subtil, fortified her self in the Castle of Napoli.

Warre betwixt Queene Giovanna, and her husband.

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Lodovico
de Angio,
adopted king
of Naples.

Suspitions thus growing in the minds of the one and the other, they came to fight, and the Queene with the helpe of Sforza (who was returned to her service) vanquished Alfonso: drave him out of Naples, deprived him of his adoption, and adopted Lodovico de Angio; whereof grew a great warre betwixt Braccio who had folowed Alfonso, and Sforza that favoured the Queen.

In the proceeding of these wars, Sforza occasioned to passe the river of Pescara, was there drowned: wherby the Queene became againe disarmed, and should have bene driven out of the kingdom, if Philipppo Visconti Duke of Milan had not enforced Alfonso (proceeding on in his journey against the Queen) to be staid. For having besieged Aquila, the Pope (supposing the greatnes of Braccio not to be good for the church) entertained Francesco the sonne of Sforza, against Braccio, and at Aquila slew him, and overthrew his army. On the part of Braccio, Oddo his son was saved, from whom the Pope tooke Perugia, and left to him Montone: yet shortlie after, fighting for the Florentines in Romagna, was there slaine. So then, of all these that served with Braccio, Nicholo Piccinino, remained of most reputation.

How Italy
was governed
and divided.

Now because we are come with our history neare to that time whiche I determined (and that the rest which remaineth unspoken, importeth for the most part nothing else but the wars which the Florentines and Venetians had with Philipppo Duke of Milan, which shall also be discoursed hereafter, when particularly we entreate of Florence) I will not speak more therof, but briefly reduce to memorie in what termes Italy with the Princes and the souldiers of those daies remained. Among the principall states, Queene Giovanni 2. held the kingdom of Napoli, La Marca, Patrimonio and Romagna. Part of the townes to these belonging, obeyed the church, and part of them were usurped by tyrants, or their ministers: as Farrara, Modena, and Reggio by the house of Este. Faenza by Manfredi; Imola by the Alidosi; Furli by the Ordellaffi; Rimino and Pesaro by the Malatesti; and Camerino by the house of Varano. The Provinces of Lombardy, were partly governed by Philipppo Duke of Milan, and partly by the Venetians. For all those that

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had therin any particuler states, were extirped (except the house of Gonzaga) which governed stil at Mantova. In Toscana, the greatest princes that governed, were the Florentines: onely Lucca and Siena, lived with their lawes. Lucca under Guinici, Siena as absolutely free. The Genovesi, sometimes in libertie, and sometime in servitude to the house of France, or Visconti, were without reputation, and among the meaner Potentates accounted. For all the principall Lords and Potentates, were at that time of their owne subjectes utterly disarmed. The Duke Philipppo living at home, and not suffering himselfe to be seene, his warres were altogether directed by ministers. The Venetians, so soone as they began to make warres by land, lost all that glorie which before upon the sea they had gotten. And (following the custome of other Italians) by the direction of strangers governed their warres. The Pope being a man of religion, and the Queene Giovanna a woman, did laie by their Armes: doing that for necessitie which others had done by election. The Florentines also, to like necessitie yeelded: for their sundry civil divitions among themselves, had clearly extirped the Nobilitie, and left the Common weale to be governed by those that had bene brought up in marchandise, and were therby enforced to abide the fortune of others. The discipline of warre then remained, only in the poore Princes, and Gentlemen that wanted living; and they not moved by any desire of glorie, but rather to become rich and assured, armed themselves. They then being wel practised in the warres (not having any other trade to live) sought by the wars to make themselves strong and honourable. Among this number for their value, most renowned, were Carmignuola, Francesco Sforza, Nicholo Piccinino, brought up by Braccio, Agnolo della Pergola, Lorenzo, and Michelletto Attenduly: Tartaglia, Giacoppaccio Cecolino da Parugia, Nicholo di Tolentino, Guido Torello, Antonio dal Ponte ad Hera, and others. Besides them were those great Lordes of whom I have alreadie spoken. And with them, may be numbred the Orsini, and Calonnesi, Barrons of Rome, with some other Gentlemen of the kingdome, and of Lombardy: who making a misterie or art of the warre, had among themselves a secret league

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and intelligence, whereby they protracted the service for their profit. And so, the Princes for whom they served, were on both sides losers.

In conclusion, the warres became so cowardlie, that anie ordinarie Captaine, having in him but a shadow of the auncient vertue, might (to the admiration of all Italy) have vanquished those souldiers: who through small wisdom, (and want of judgement) were much honoured. Of these idle Princes, and of these most base and cowardlie souldiers, this my Historie shall at large entreate. But first (as in the beginning I promised) it seemeth necessarie for me to returne backe, and tell the originall of Florence, letting everie man to understand fully, what was the state of that Cittie in those dayes: and by what meanes amongst so many troubles happened in Italy (during the space of a thousand yeares) the same hath still continued.

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AMONG other great and marvellous orders of the auncient common weales, and principallities (at this time decaied) was that wherby new Townes and Citties were from time to time builded. For there is nothing more worthie an excellent Prince, or well governed common weale, nor more profitable to any Country, then the building up of new Townes, where men may with commoditie, for defence and tilladge, assemble themselves: which thing those people might easily do, having in custome to send dwellers into such Countries as were either unpeopled, or conquered; which people, were in those dayes called Collonies. For besides, that this order occasioned new Townes to be built, the same also did make the Country conquered, to be more assured to the Conquerors thereof. It also replenished the voyd places, and mainteined the people in such orders as they were planted: which wrought this effect, that men most commodiously inhabiting, did most multiply. They were also in the offence of others the more readie, and in defence of themselves more assured. That custome (being through negligence of common weales and Princes of this time, discontinued) doth occasion the weakenesse and ruine of their Countries, because that only maketh every government assured, and every Country (as is before said) plentifully inhabited. The assurance groweth, because Collonies planted in any province newly conquered, is (as it were) a castle and gard, to hold the same in obedience. Besides that, no country wel inhabited, can maintaine the inhabitants thereof, nor continue them as they be planted, without

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that rule and order: for all places are not plentifull or wholesome, which is the cause that the people in the one do abound, and want in the other. So as if no meane be, to take away where is abundance, and supply where want is, that Country in short space must of force be ruined; because the one part thereof, through the small number of inhabitants becommeth desolate, and the other being overcharged, oppressed with povertie. And for that nature could not reforme this disorder, it is necessarie, that industry should do it. For unwholesome Countries planted full of people, comming thither altogether, do make the same healthful, by reason that the tilling of the earth doth alter the soyle; and the fiers, doth greatly purge the aire; which things nature by her selfe could not. The experience thereof is seen by the Cittie of Venice, seated in a place paludious, and unwholesome. Notwithstanding, the assemblie of many inhabitants come thither at one instant, did make the same healthy inough. Pisa likewise, through the contagion of the aire, was never replenished, but when Genova, and the rivers thereto belonging, were by the Sarasins destroyed, it enforced the people (driven from their native countrey) to flye thither, and make that place well inhabited, and strong.

This custome of sending Collonies being discontinued, is the occasion that countreyes conquered, are holden with more difficultie; those that be emptie are not supplied, and countreyes over full are not disburthened, whereby, manie parts of the world, and chiefly Italy, in respect of the ancient times, are become desarts. The reason thereof is, that there hath not bene, nor is not in Princes, anie desire of true glorie, nor in Common-weales anie ordinance that meriteth commendation. In the old time we see, that through vertue of these Collonies, Citties were often made new, and some others (alreadie begun) encreased: of which number was the Cittie of Florence, begunne by the people of Fiesole, and enlarged by Collonies. A thing most true it is (as Dante and John Villano have written) that the Cittie of Fiesole being set on the top of a mountaine, to occasion their markets to bee the more frequented, and give commoditie to those that with their merchandize would

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resort thither, did give order that they should not clime up the hill, but stay in the plaine, betwixt the foote of the mountaine, and the river Arno. These markets (as I judge) were occasion of the first building in that place. The merchants also being desirous to have storehouses commodious for the receiving of wares, made buildings there, which in time became houses of habitation. Afterwards, when the Romanes (having vanquished the Carthaginesi) had made Italy from forreine warres secure, in great numbers there they multiplied; for men doo never seeke the defence of themselves, if by necessitie they are not encouraged: and, as feare of warre doth constraine them willingly to inhabit barren places and strong, so that feare remooved, (allured with commoditie) more willingly they covet to dwell in Countrys pleasant and profitable.

The securitie which grew in Italy by reputation of the Roman common-weale, might occasion the number of the inhabitants to bee so great, as made this place to become (as it were) in forme of a Towne, and was at the beginning called Arinna. After that time, civill warres happened in Rome, first betweene Mario and Silla, then betwixt Cesare and Pompeio, and at last betweene the murtherers of Cæsar, and those which sought to revenge his death. It seemeth therefore, that first by Silla, and next by those three Citizens of Rome (that after the revenge made for Cæsar) divided the Empire, Collonies were sent to Fiesole, who either all, or part, did plant their dwellings in the plaine neare unto the Towne already begun: insomuch, as the same was much enlarged, and so well replenished with buildings, men, and other things necessarie for civill life, as it became to be numbred among the Citties of Italy. Yet whence this name Firenze should be derived, divers men do diversly hold opinion. Some suppose it so called of Florino, one of the chiefe of the Colloni. Others would not consent that it was called Florentia at the beginning, but Fluentia, because it was neare the river of Arno, which floweth. And they alledge the authoritie of Plinny, where he saith, that the people Fluentini be neare unto Arno: which may be false, because Plinny maketh demonstration where the Florentines were seated, not how they were called. And that word Fluentini

Whereof the
name of Flo-
rence is
derived.

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must needs be corrupted, because Frontino and Cornelio Tacito (who wrote almost in the time of Plinny) do call the Towne Florentia, and the people Florentini; for that long since in the time of Tiberio, they were governed according to the custome of other Cities in Italy. Cornelio reporteth also, that the Florentines had sent Embassadors to the Emperor, praying, that the waters of Chiane might not discend uppon their Countrey; neither is it reasonable, that the Citie should have in one time two names. I beleeve therefore it was alwaies called Florentia. For what cause soever it was so named, or for what cause soever it had the beginning, most sure it is, that under the Empire of Rome, it had the foundation, and in the reigne of the first Emperours, Writers did make mention thereof. Moreover, at such time as the barbarous people did persecute the Empire, Florence was by Tottila King of the Ostragotti defaced, and after 250 yeares by Carlo Magno reedified: from which time, till the yeares after Christ 1215 it continued under that fortune which others did, who then commanded in Italy. In which time, first governed there the posteritie of Carlo, then Barengarii, and last of all the Emperours of Germanie, as hath bene in our universall discourse before declared. The Florentines could not in those times increase or do anie thing worthe memorie, for the authoritie of them, unto whom it was subject: notwithstanding, in the year 1010 and the day of S. Romolo, (a solemne Feast with the Fiesolane) they surprized Fiesole, and demolished the same; which they did, either with consent of the Emperours, or else at such times as one Emperor being dead, the other was not elected, whereby everie man (for the present) remained at libertie. But since the Popes tooke unto themselves more authoritie in Italy, and the Germane Emperours grew weake, everie Towne in that Province, with lesse reverence to their Prince, was governed. Insomuch, as in the yeare 1080 in the time of Arrigo the third, Italy was openly divided into faction betwixt him and the Church: notwithstanding the Florentines maintained themselves united, till the yere 1215 yelding to the victorious, without aspiring farther than to save themselves. But as to the bodies of men, the

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longer they bee healthie, the more dangerous and mortall are the sicknesses, when they happen: so Florence the more slowlie it followed the factions, the more speedily and greevously it was by them afterwards afflicted. The first occasion of division in that Citie, is most publicly knownen, because it hath bene written by Dante and divers others: nevertheles I thinke good briefly to speake thereof.

There was in Florence (among others) of the mightie Families, Buondelmonti, and Uberti; next unto them were the Amidei and Donati. In the house of Donati was a Gentlewoman, a widow and rich, who having one onely daughter, a maiden of much beautie, whom within her selfe, shee determined to marrie unto Buondelmonti a yong Gentleman, and the chiefe of his house. This her intent, eyther through negligence or delay of time (none beeing made privie thereof) was deferred so long, that Buondelmonti was contracted to the daughter of Amidei: wherewith she greatly discontented, and supposing it were possible with the beautie of her daughter to stay the marriage, before the same should be solemnized: one day, seeing Buondelmonti comming towards her house, came downe, her daughter following; and meeting him at the gate, said, I am very glad that you are now become married, yet was it my meaning you should have had this my daughter, and with those words (she opened the gate) and shewed her unto him. The Gentleman beholding the beautie of the maiden (which indeed was rare) and therewith considering that her parentage and portion was not inferiour to hers, whom he had alreadie taken, became exceedingly desirous to have her. Then, not respecting his faith alreadie given, nor the injurie he did in breaking the same, nor yet the inconvenience that might ensue thereof, said: Sith it hath pleased you to reserve your daughter for me, I should bee unthankfull (beeing yet all in time) to refuse her. After the speaking of these words (without farther delay) hee married her. This marriage beeing knowen, highly offended all the Familie of Amidei, and Ubarti: who were by his first marriage, allied. Then assembling themselves, and consulting together, in the ende concluded, that such an

The first
division of
Florence.

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injurie might not bee borne without shame; nor the revenge thereunto due, could bee other than the death of Buondelmonti. And albeit some did fore-cast the inconveniences that might followe such an Action: yet Moscha Lamberti sayde, that who so ever casteth all doubts, should never resolve anie thing; alleading the auncient Proverbe, A thing once done, is past remedie. Then gave they the charge of this murther to bee performed by Moscha, Stiatta, Uberti, Lambertuccio, Amidei, Odorigo Fifanti. These men in the morning of Easter day, at the houre of Resurrection, assembled themselves in the houses of the Amidei; by which streete, Buondelmonti passed the bridge upon a white horse: and supposing (as it seemeth) that it had bene a thing as easie to forget an injurie, as renounce a marriage, was at the foote of the bridge under an Image of Mars (which there is standing) assaulted, and slaine. This murther divided the whole Citie, the one halfe tooke part with Buondelmonti, the other with Uberti. These Families, by reason they were strong in houses, towers, and men, fought manie yeares, before the one could chase the other out of the Cittie: till at length (without anie firme peace made) a truce was taken, which according unto occasion, was sometimes kept, and sometimes broken.

Florence continued in these troubles, till the time of Federigo the second: who being also King of Napoli, was perswaded hee might encrease his dominion against the Church. And to make his authoritie more assured in Toscana, he favoured the Uberti and their followers, who thereby drave out the Buondelmonti: and so our Cittie (like unto all other Townes of Italy) became divided into Guelfi and Ghibilini. And it seemeth not superfluous to make mention of the Families that depended of the one and the other. Those that followed the faction of Guelfi, were Buondelmonti, Narli, Rossi, Frescobaldi, Mozzi, Baldi, Pulci, Gherardini, Faraboschi, Bagnesi, Guidalotti, Sachetti, Manieri, Lucardesi, Chiaramonti, Complobbesi, Cavalcanti, Giandonati, Gianfigliuzzi, Scali, Gualerotti, Importuni, Bostichi, Tornaquinci, Vecchietti, Tosinghi, Arregucci, Agli, Sitii, Adimari, Visdomini, Donati, Pazzi, della Bella, Ardinghi, Tebaldi, Cherchi. For the Ghibilini, were

By what
means the
factions of
Guelfi and
Ghibilini
arose in
Florence.

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Uberti, Mannelli, Ubriachi, Fifanti, Amidei, Infanganti, Malespini, Scolari, Guidi, Galli, Capardi, Lamberti, Soldanieri, Capriani, Toschi, Ameri, Palermini, Migliorelli, Pigli, Baruchi, Cattani, Agollanti, Brunelleschi, Caponsachi, Elisei, Abbati, Tedaldini, Givochi, Caligai. Besides these noble houses, manie popular families joyned in that action: so that welneare all the Cittie became corrupted with this division. But the Guelfi being driven out, retyred themselves into Townes of the Vale of Arno, where their chiefe places of strength were, and (the best they could) against the furie of their enemies defended themselves. Federigo then dying, such as remained in Florence and were men neuterall, having also credite with the people, thought better to reunite the Cittie, than holding it in division, utterly to overthrow it. They therefore found meanes, that the Guelfi (setting all injurie aside) should returne, and the Ghibilini (without suspition) receave them. They thus united, it seemed to them, that the time would well serve to frame an order for the libertie of the Cittie, before the new Emperour should grow strong. For which purpose, they divided the Cittie into sixe parts, and chose twelve Cittizens for everie part to governe the same, whom they called Antiani, and were changed everie yeare. Also to remove all offences, that might arise by Judges, they elected two Straungers to that office, calling the one Capitaine of the people, and the other Podesta: who were authorised to judge all causes that happened in the Cittie, either civill or criminall. Also, because no order is assured without defenders thereof, they appointed in the Citie twentie Ensignes, and threescore and sixtene in the Countrey; under which all the youth was mustred, and commanded they should bee readie armed, everie man under the ensigne whereto he belonged, whensoever he were either by the Captain or the Antiani called. And as the ensignes which those soldiers were appointed unto were divers, so were the weapons diversly divided: for the crosbowes had their private ensigne, and the holberdiars theirs. Also at everie feast of Penticost, with great pompe they erected new ensignes, and appointed new Capitaines, and trained the souldiers to such perfection, as everie man knew in what

An union and policie, settled in Florence.

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order hee should march, retire, and charge the enemy. Then they caused a great chariot covered with redde, and drawne by two Oxen, to carry their chiefe ensigne, of colour white and redde. Whensoever they intended to assemble all their forces, they commanded this Chariot to be brought into the market place, and with great ceremony give charge thereof to the chiefe Captaines of the people. They had also for the magnificence of their enterprise, a great bell called Martinella, which was rung continually one whole moneth before their Army was brought into the field : to the end that the enemy might prepare for his defence. So great was the vertue of men in those dayes, and so honourably they proceeded in their actions : where at this present to assaile the enemy sodeinly and without warning, is thought to be a wise and honourable thing, in those dayes the same was holden cowardly, and dishonourable. This Bell was also carried with the Army, and by the sound thereof the watches and other orders of the Campe were commanded. Upon these martiall ordinances and civill rules, the Florentines laide the foundation of their libertie. Neither can it bee imagined how great authoritie and force that Cittie in short space attained unto. So that it became not onely chiefe of Toscana, but also was accounted amongst the best Cities of Italy, and should have so continued, had not the often and new divisions disturbed the same : under this government the Florentines lived tenne yeares, within which time they enforced the Pistoiesi, Aretini, and Senesi, to make league with them. Returning from Sienna with their Army, they surprized Volterra, and demolished some castles, leading the inhabitants of them to Florence. All which enterprises were performed by counsell of the Guelfi, who could do much more then the Ghibilini, because they for their insolencie during the raigne of Federigo were hated of the people. The faction of the church also much more loved, then the faction of the Emperour : because the Florentines hoped thereby to preserve their libertie, but beeing under the Emperour they feared to loose it.

The Ghibilini then seeing themselves bereft of authoritie, could not live contented, but still aspecting occasion to recover the government, and seeing Manfredi sonne of

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Federigo, possessed of the kingdome of Napoli, who had also discomforted the forces of the church, thought the time come to serve their purpose. Secretly then they practised with him to take their authoritie uppon him, but their practise was not so cunningly handled, but that the same was discovered to the Antiani, who presently sent for the Ubarti. They not onely refused to appeare, but also tooke Armes, and fortified themselves in their houses: wherwith the people offended, likewise tooke Armes, and ayding the Guelfi, enforced them and all the rest of the Ghibilini to abandon Florence, and go unto Siena. From whom they prayed aide of Manfredi king of Napoli, and by the industry of Farrinata Uberti, the Guelfi upon the river Arbia, received so great an overthrow and slaughter, as those that were saved, returned not to Florence; but supposing their Cittie lost, fled into Lucca. The chiefe Captaine of those souldiers sent by Manfredi, was Earle Giordano, a man of war in that time greatly esteemed. Hee, after the victorie, went with the Ghibilini to Florence, reducing the citie wholly to the obedience of Manfredi, deposing the magistrates, and altering everie other order, whereby might appeare any forme of libertie. Which injurie with small wisdom committed, was generally of the people taken in great disdaine, and of friends to the Ghibilini, they became mortal enemies, wherof, with time, grew their utter ruine.

King Manfredi, a chiefe of the Ghibilini.

The Earle Giordano, having occasion to return to Napoli for the service of that kingdome, left in Florence as deputie for the king, the Earle Guido Novella, Lord of Casentino, who at Empoli assembled a councill of Ghibilini, thought it was necessarie to raze Florence, as apt (by reason the people were Guelfi) to recover force for the aide of the church. To this so cruell a sentence in prejudice of that noble citie, there was no citizen nor friend (Farinata Ubarti excepted) that apposed himself. He openly and without respect spake in favour therof, and said, that he had not laboured nor adventured himselfe in so many perils, but to the end he might inhabit his native country; and would not loose that he had so long sought, nor shunne that which fortune had laid upon him. Yea, being no lesse enemy to

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Farinata
Uberti.

The Duke of
Angio, called
into Italy by
the Pope.

King Man-
fredi slaine.

New ordi-
nances in
Florence.

them that should so determine, then he had bene to the Guelfi, he wold not refuse to favour his country, hoping that his vertue which had chased out the Guelfi from Florence, should also defend the same.

Farinata was a man of great courage, excellent in the wars, chief of the Ghibilini, and greatly esteemed of Manfredi: his opinion therefore prevailed, and new means were thought upon how to preserve the state. The Guelfi (before fled to Lucca for feare of the Earles threatning) were sent away from thence, and went to Bologna: from whence they were called by the Guelfi of Parma, to go with them to an enterprise against the Ghibilini, wherin by their vertue the enimies were vanquished, and they recovered their owne possessions. So that encreasing in riches and honour, knowing also that Pope Clemente had sent for Carlo of Angio, to take the kingdome from Manfredi, by Ambassadors they offered him their service: and the Pope did not onely receive them for his friendes, but also gave them his Ensigne; which ever sithence the Guelfi have carried in their warres; and is that, which at this day is used in Florence. Then was Manfredi by Carlo dispossessed of his kingdome and slain. In which enterprise, the Guelfi of Florence happening to be present, their faction gained reputation, and the Ghibilini became the weaker. Whereupon, those that governed with the Earle Guido at Florence, thought it meete by some benefit to winne the love of the people, which with many injuries had before that time bene lost. For those remedies which before this time of necessitie would have prevailed, using them now without order, and out of time, did not onely hurt, but also hasten their ruine. They then thought good to make the people friends and partakers of such honours and authoritie, as had bene taken from them: and elected thirtie sixe Citizens Commoners, who with two Gentlemen (called from Bologna) should reforme the state of the Citie. They thus assembled, presently divided the Citie into Arts or Misteries: over every one of which Misteries, they appointed one Magistrate to do justice to all those within his government. They ordeined also an Ensigne to everie Misterie: to the end, that all men might repaire therunto armed,

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whensoever occasion did serve. These Misteries, were in the beginning twelve, seven great, and five lesse. Afterwards, the lesse Misteries encreased to fourteene, so then the number was, (as at this present it is) twenty one. The thirtie six men appointed for reformation, practised many things for the benefit of the people.

The Earle Guido for the paying of the souldiers imposed a Subsidie uppon the Citizens: whom hee found so unwilling therewith, as hee durst not enforce them to paie those summes that were imposed. And supposing to have lost the state, he joyned himselfe with the chiefe of the Ghibilini; which done, determined to take that from the people by force, which they for want of judgement had graunted. For that purpose assembling the souldiers Armed, and accompanied with the thirtie sixe Reformers, hee made an Alarum, and foorthwith the Reformers retired themselves to their houses, and the Ensignes of the Misteries came foorth, followed by many Armed men, who understanding that the Earle Guido with his followers, were at Saint Giovanni, they made head at Saint Trinita, and there elected Giovanni Sodarini, theyr Captaine. The Earle on the other side, hearing where the people were, marched towardses them, who fled not, but assoone as the Earle drew neare, charged him neare unto the place called Loggio delli Tornaquinci. There they forced the Earle to retire with the slaughter, and losse of many his souldiers. The Earle fearing that his enemy (seeing his souldiers maimed and weary) would assault him, and in the night kill him: determined forthwith to flie, and so save himselfe. So as contrarie to the counsell of the governours and others of his faction, he presently fled with his men to the Citie of Prato. So soone as hee came thither, finding himselfe out of feare, being in a place of securitie, remembred how great an errour he had committed: and desirous to amend the same, the next morning earely, marched with his men towards Florence: offering to enter the Citie by force, which by cowardise hee had abandoned, but that attempt tooke no successe, for the people which with difficultie might have driven him away, with facilitie could hold him out. So that with great sorow and shame, he went unto

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Casentino, and the Ghibilini to their vilages. Thus the people remained with victorie, and for the comfort of those which loved the common wealth, determined to reunite the citie, and call home all citizens as well Ghibilini as Guelfi: by meanes whereof, the Guelfi after sixe yeares absence from the citie were returned. And the Ghibilini (notwithstanding the memorie of their late injurie) were pardoned and put in their country: yet much hated both of the people and the Guelfi; for these could not forget their exile, and those remembred too much the tyrannie which was used during their authoritie: which things, caused that neither the one nor the other were contented.

While in this forme the Florentines lived, it was reported, that Corradino nephew to Manfredi, should come with forces from Germany to the conquest of Napoli. Whereupon the Ghibilini tooke heart and hope, thereby to recover their authoritie. And the Guelfi began to thinke how they might assure themselves of their enemies: for which purpose, they praied king Carlo to defend them in the time of Corradino his passage. The souldiers of Carlo being in march, made the Guelfi insolent, and amazed the Ghibilini so much, that two dayes before they arrived (without any violence offered) they fled. The Ghibilini thus departed, the Florentines reordeined the state of their citie, and elected twelve chiefe men to be magistrates, and governe their citie for two moneths, whom they called not Antiani, but Buoni Homini. Next unto them, they appointed a Councell of foure score Citizens, which they called La Credenza. After them, were an hundreth and foure score Commoners, who with the Credenza and the twelve Buoni Homini, were called the Councell generall. They ordeined moreover one other Councell of a hundreth and twentie Citizens, of the Comonaltie and Nobilitie mixed, which should give perfection, and confirmation to al things determined in the other Councils. This government thus settled, the faction of the Guelfi, together with the Magistrates fortified the citie, to the end they might the better defend themselves from the Ghibilini, whose goods they divided into three parts: the one, they imployed to publike uses: the second was given to the Captaines; the third

New ordinances in
Florence by
the Guelfi.

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divided amongst the Guelfi, in recompence of the losses. The Pope also to maintaine the Guelfi in Toscana, ordeined the King Carlo to bee Lieftenant Emperiall of that countrey. The Florentines thus holding themselves in reputation, by vertue of these new orders, governed all things well, with their lawes at home, and with their armes abroad.

Then died the Pope, and after long disputation, in the end of two yeares, Gregorio decimo was elected: who having bene long time in Soria (and was at the time of his election) did not make so great account of the factions, as his predecessors had done. But returning home towards France, being arrived at Florence, to performe the office of a good Pastor, sought to unite that citie: wherein he prevailed so farre with the Florentines, as they were content that Commissioners for the Ghibilini might be received into Florence, to solicit the return of their faction, which was concluded. Notwithstanding, the Ghibilini were so terrified, as they durst not come home. The Pope laid the fault thereof to the citie, and being offended, did excommunicate the same. In which displeasure, the Florentines continued all the life of that Pope: but after his death the citie was absolved by Pope Innocentio quinto; to whom succeeded Nicholao tertio, descended of the house of Orsini. And because the Popes had alwaies in suspicion those that aspired to greatnes in Italy, (although by the favour of the church they were thereunto attained) sought alwaies to put them backe. Therof grew many tumults and often variations, for the feare of him that was become strong, occasioned the advancement of an other that was weake, who beeing likewise growne up, was forthwith feared, and being feared, cast downe. This was the cause, that occasioned the kingdome to be taken from Manfredi, and given to Carlo. This was also that which caused the Pope to mistrust Carlo, and seek his distruction. Nicholao tertio then, for the reasons beforesaid, found meanes through the helpe of the Emperour, that the government of Toscana was taken from Carlo: and in his place hee sent thither Latino his Legate. At that time Florence remained in verie hard estate, because the Nobilitie of the Guelfi were

Florence ex-communicate.

The Pope ever suspitious.

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New ordi-
nances in
Florence.

become insolent, and feared not the Magistrates: so as everie of them committed murthers, and other violences without any justice or punishment of those that committed the same; because they were alwaies by one or other great person favoured. To bridle this great insolencie, it was by the chiefe of the people thought good to revoke such as were banished: which gave opportunitie to the Legate, to reunite the citie; and the Ghibilini returned home. In the place of twelve governours, there were foureteene made, for everie part seven, to governe the cittie during one yeare: and they to be elected by the Pope. Florence continued in this order of government two yeares. Then Pope Martino aspired to the Papacie, who being a French man, restored unto king Carlo, all that authoritie which the Pope Nicholao had taken from him: wherby the factions in Toscana were suddeinly revived. For the Florentines tooke Armes against the Emperours Governour, to deprive the Ghibilini of the government: therewith also to hold the great men in awe, they ordeined a new forme of government.

Florence
reformed.

The yeare 1282 beeing come, the companies of the Misteries having received their Magistrates and Ensigns, became greatly esteemed. They among themselves, elected in the place of the fourteene, three Citizens to remaine two moneths governours of the common-weale, and called them Priori: who might be either Commoners or Gentlemen, so that they were Merchants of some Misterie. Afterwards the chiefe Magistracie was reduced to sixe men, so as in every part of the citie there might be one: which order continued till the yeare 1342. At which time the cittie was divided into quarters, and the number of Priori encreased to nine, and diverse times in that meane while (by reason of some accident) they were in number twelve. This Office was the meane (as shall hereafter appeare) that the Nobilitie was ruined; for then by many occasions they were excluded, and afterwards without respect oppressed; whereunto the Nobilitie at the beginning consented: for they unwilling to bee united with the people, and desiring to have all the state into their hands, and the people having like desire, became both losers. Then they appointed a

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pallace for their office, where by auncient custome, the Magistrates and Counsellours assembled, who were in honourable sort by Serjeants and other Ministers there attended, albeit at the erection of this office, the officers were called Priori: yet afterwards (for more magnificence) Priori. was joyned therunto the name of Signory.

The Florentines for a space, among themselves remained quiet, during which time they made warre uppon the Aretini, because they had banished the Guelfi: and in Campaldino most fortunately wonne the victory. The cittie then encreasing in men and riches, thought good to encrease also the wals therof, and therefore enlarged the circuit of the same to that compasse, which now wee see: for before that time the Diametre thereof, was onely that space which is from the old bridge, to S. Lorenzo. The wars abroad, and peace at home, had (as it were) worne out of Florence the factions of Guelfi and Ghibilini. Then remained only those humors (which naturally were wont to be in everie cittie) betwixt the Nobilitie and the people. For the people desirous to live according to law, and the great men studying to command them, becommeth a thing impossible they should accord together. This humour, so long as the Ghibilini held the citie in awe, was not discovered; but so soone as they were vanquished, it shewed the force thereof: for everie day some popular man was injured, and Magistrates knew not by what meanes to punish the same, because everie Gentleman with the force of his friends defended himselfe. The Magistrates of the misterie, studying to remedie so great a mischief, provided that everie Senate in the beginning of their authoritie should create one Gonfaloniere di Giustitia, a man elected in the number of Commoners, unto whom was appointed one thousand men, under twentie Ensignes readie at all occasions to maintaine justice, whensoever they were by their Gonfalone or their Captaine commanded. The first chosen was Ubaldo Ruffoli, he drew forth the Gonfalone, and razed the houses of the Galetti: because one of that Family had in France slaine a popular man. It was an easie thing for the misteries to make this order, by reason of the great hatred among the Nobilitie, who considered

Discord between the nobility and the people.

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not of any provision against them, till such time as they felt the bitter execution thereof; which, at the first gave them great terror: neverthelesse afterwards, they returned to their wonted insolencie. For alwaies some one of the Nobilitie being an Officer, had therby meanes to hinder the Gonfaloniere, in execution of his office. Moreover, for that everie accuser must produce his witnesse to prove the offence offered, and no man for feare of the Nobilitie durst give witnesse, the citie in short space returned to the former discord: and the people injured in the same sort as they were wont to bee; because judgement was slow, and execution thereof wanted.

New ordinances in
favour of the
people.

The populer sort then not knowing what course to take, Giano della Bella, a Gentleman of auncient race (yet therewith one that loved the libertie of his Country) encouraged the chiefe of the misteries to reforme the disorders of the citie. By this Councell it was ordeined that the Gonfaloniere should remaine with the Priori, and have foure thousand men at his commandement. They likewise made all the Nobilitie incapable of the Senate, and every man that was accessarie in anie offence, to be as subject to punishment as the principall. They decreed moreover, that publique fame should suffice to receive condemnation by the lawes, which they called *Ordinamenti della Giustitia*. By this mean the people gained great reputation, and Giano della Bella much hated: because thereby he became evill thought of by the Nobilitie, and reputed one that oppressed their authoritie. The rich Commoners did also envie him, for that they imagined his credit overmuch, which at the first occasion was so proved. For it shortly after happened, that in a fraie, one of the people chanced to be slaine; at which conflict diverse Gentlemen were present; and among the rest, Corso Donati: unto whom (as the most quarrelsome of the companie) the fault was laid, and by the Captaine of the people apprehended. Howsoever it were, either that Corso had not offended, or that the Captaine feared to commit him, he was presently set at libertie. Which deliverie so greatly offended the people, that they tooke Armes and ranne to the house of Giano della Bella, desiring him to be a meane that those lawes might be

Giano della
Bella.

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observed, whereof he had bene the inventor. Giano willing that Corso should be punished, did not (as many thought he would do) cause the people to laie down their Armes, but perswaded them to go unto the Senate, and praie them to looke unto the matter. The people, in the meane while much moved, and supposing the Captaine to have offered injurie, and also that Giano had forsaken them; went not to the Senat, but unto the Captaines pallace, which they tooke and sacked. That fact greatly displeased all the Citizens, and those that desired the fall of Giano accused him, laying all the fault to his charge. Amongst the Lords of the Senate, one of his enemies happened to be: who accused him to the Captaine, for having stirred the people to sedition. During the time that this cause was in debating, the people armed, went againe to the house of Giano, and offered him defence against the Senators his enemies. But Giano would neither make prooffe of this populer favour, nor yet commit his life to the Magistrates, because he feared the lewdnesse of these, and the inconstancie of those, so as to take occasion from his foes to offend him, and from his friendes to harme their countrey, he determined to depart, and so giving place to envie, and to deliver the Citizens from that feare they had of him, went into voluntarie exile: notwithstanding he had with his great perill, delivered the citie from servitude of the Nobilitie.

After his departure, the Nobilitie hoped greatly to recover their dignities, and judging that all their evill was by his mean procured, they assembled themselves together, and sent two of them to the Senate (which they thought did favour them much) to entreate that by the same, the severe lawes made to their prejudice, might in some thing be quallified: which request being knowne, troubled much the people, fearing that the Senators would grant the same: Insomuch as the desire of the Nobilitie, and the suspition of the people, drew them to the sword. The Nobilitie made head in three places, at S. Giovanni, in the new market place, and in the Piazza di Mozzi. Their Captaines were, Forese Adimari, Vanni di Mozzi, and Geri Spini. The people on the other side, with their Ensigne, in great

Division
betwixt the
Nobilitie and
people.

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Perswasions
to the Nobil-
itie to laie
downe armes.

Perswasions
used to the
people.

numbers assembled at the Senators pallace, who at that time dwelt neare unto S. Bruocolo: and because the people had that Senate in suspition, they joyned with them six Citizens for the government. While the one and the other part prepared themselves to fight, some of the people, and some of the Nobilitie, together with certaine religious men of good fame, came betweene them and perswaded a peace: Letting the Nobilitie understand, that the cause why the honours from them was taken, and the lawes against them made, proceeded of their owne pride and evil government. And because they had before that time, taken Armes to recover that which through their owne division and evil behaviour had bene taken from them, it would not do other then occasion the ruine of their country, and hinder themselves. It was moreover said unto them, that the people, in number, riches and mallice, was much their superiour: and that these noble men by whom they thought to oppresse others, would not fight, but went their waies, so soone as the fight began. It was therefore a folly for them, against so great a multitude to contend. They perswaded the people on the other side, that it was no wisdom to seeke their will by way of extremitie, and that it was no part of judgement to drive men into desperation: for whosoever hopeth of no good, feareth no evill. They ought also to remember, that the Noble men were those, which in the warres had honored the citie: therfore it was no reason nor just occasion, why they should be so greatly hated. And moreover, although the Nobilitie could be content not to possesse the supreame offices, yet would they not endure to be driven out of their Country. It were therefore well done to laie Armes aside and grow to agreement, not trusting to the multitude of the people: for it hath bene often seene, that the greater number have by the lesse bene vanquished. Upon these speeches grew divers opinions among the people: many wold have fought, as a thing that of force at one time or other must be; and therefore was better to do the same now, then afterwards when their enemies were become stronger. And though it were beleevd that by mittigation of the lawes, the Nobilitie wold become contented, yet the pride of them was such,

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as without enforcement would never rest. Others of the people, wiser, better advised, and of more quiet disposition, thought that the mitigation of the lawes was no great matter: but to fight one part against the other, was a thing of great importance. So in the end, this opinion prevailed, and it was provided, that no accusation against any of the Nobilitie, should bee received without witnesses. The Armes of the one and the other side, thus laide aside, either of them continued full of suspition: fortifying themselves in their houses, and preparing weapons anew. Then the people reordained the government, restraining the same into a smal number, mooved thereto, because that Signoria had bene favoured of the Nobilitie: of whom, the chiefe were, Mancini, Magalotti, Altouti, Peruzzi, and Gerrettani.

The state thus settled, for more magnificence, and securitie of the Senate, in the yeare 1298, they builded their Pallace, and made a Court before it, of that place where the houses of the Uberti sometimes were. At this verie time were also the common prisons begunne, and within few yeares after, finished. For in those daies, our cittie was in as great and happie estate, as at anie time it hath bene: being full of men and reputation. The number of Cittizens fit for the warres, were numbred at thirtie thousand: and the people of the Countrey able for that purpose, amounted to three-score and tenne thousand. All Toscana, either as subjects or friends obeyed us. And albeit betwixt the Nobilitie and people, some indignation and suspition were, yet no evil effect thereof followed, but every man neighborly and peaceably lived. And had not this peace bene by new enimitie within the cittie disturbed, no forreine disorder could have molested the state: because the cittie stood in such tearmes that it neither feared the Empire, nor those that were banished. And against all the states of Italy, it was of force sufficient to defend it selfe. That injury therefore, which external forces could not do, by inward discord was performed.

New reformation in Florence 1298.

There were in Florence two families, one called Circhi, the other Donati; in riches, Nobilitie, and men mightie. Betweene them (being both in Florence, and the Countrey

New division of the Bianchi.

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neare neighbors) there grew displeasure, yet not so great, as to occasion the use of armes: neither would there perhaps thereof have growne any great matter, had not the same bene by some new occasions encreased. Among the chiefe houses of Pistoia, is that of Cancellieri. It happened that Lore sonne of Guglielmo, and Geri sonne of Bertaccio (both of that familie) playing together, fell into quarrell, and Geri of Lore was lightly hurt. This chance greeved Guglielmo much: and thinking with curtesie to amend the matter, made the same much worse. For he commanded his sonne to go unto the house, where the father of the hurt man dwelled, and there aske pardon. The yoong man obeyed his father. Notwithstanding, that humble act, did no whit decrease the bitter disposition of Bertaccio, who caused Lore to be taken and holden by his servants, till his hand were cut off; saying unto him, return home unto thy father, and tel him that wounds be cured with steele, and not with words. The crueltie of this fact so greatly offended Guglielmo, that he armed his friends to revenge it. Bertaccio on the other side armed, to defend himselfe. Whereby, not onely these families, but all the cittie of Pistoia was divided. And because these Cancellieri, were descended from one of that name, who had two wives: the one named Biancha, the one party being descended of that woman, called their faction Biancha: the other partie to take a name contrarie, was called Nera. Betwixt them, at diverse times diverse conflicts and slaughters of men followed. At length both parties growing wearie, and yet not knowing how to be reconciled, did desire, either to make an end of their discord, or else to draw others into quarrels with them, and so encrease their faction. For which purpose they come to Florence. And the Neri having familiar acquaintance with the Donati, were by Corso (chiefe of that house) favoured: which the Bianchi understanding, to make themselves strong and able to resist the Donati, resorted to Veri de i Circhi: a man in everie condition no whit inferiour to Corso. This humour come from Pistoia, encreased the olde hate betweene the Circhi and Donati: and was alreadie so apparant, that the Priori and other good Cittizens feared everie houre, least some slaughter would therof ensue: and the whole

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citie be divided. For preventing whereof, they resorted unto the Pope, desiring him, that with his authoritie he would take order for these quarrels, which they themselves could not. The Pope sent for Veri, and pressed him to make peace with the Donati, whereat Veri seemed to marvell, and said, he had no quarrell unto them, and because everie peace presupposeth war, sith no war was betweene them, he knew not why any peace should be required. Then Veri returned from Rome without other conclusion. These humours so encreased, that every small accident (as often it happeneth) was like to bring great disturbance.

In the moneth of May, (at which time the youth of Florence on feativall dayes doo disport themselves publicely in the streetes) it happened certaine yoong men of the Donati, with their friends, to come on horsebacke to behold the women dauncing, neare unto S. Trinita, where staying awhile, thither chanced to come certaine Gentlemen of the house of Circhi: they also bringing with them some of their friends. They not knowing that the Donati were there (who stood before them) desirous to see the daunce, pressed forward with their horses, and shouldred them. Wherewith the Donati finding themselves offended, drew their swordes: and the Circhi as bravely prepared themselves to answer the assault. After many hurts given and taken, everie man departed his way. This disorder happened in a very unhappie houre, because the whole Citie upon that occasion was divided: as well the people, as the great men, and the parties tooke name of Bianchi and Neri. The chiefe of the faction Bianchi, were the Circhi, and with them joyned Adimari Abbati, some of the Tosinghi, Bardi, Rossi, Frescobaldi, Nerli, Mannelli, all the Mozzi, Scali, Gherardini, Cavalcanti, Malespini, Bostechi, Giandonati, Vecchietti, and Ariguzzi. They were also followed by many populer families, and all the Ghibilini that were in Florence. So that through the great number that tooke part with them, they had welneare all the sway of the Cittie. The Donati on the other side, were chiefe of the partie Nera, and with them the rest of those families before named, that joyned not with the Bianchi: and besides them, all the Pazzi,

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Spini, Buondelmonti, Gianfiliazzi, and Brunelleschi. This humour did not only infect the Cittie, but also divided the whole countrey. Whereupon the Captaines of misteries, with everie other of the Guelfi that loved the Common weale, did feare, least the division should with time, ruine the cittie, and revive the Ghibilini. Wherefore they sent againe to Pope Bonifacio, to the end hee should devise meane to save that cittie, which had bene alwaies a shield of the church: and now likely either to be destroyed, or become subject to the Ghibilini. The Pope sent then unto Florence a Legate called Mattheo de Acqua Sparta, a Cardinall of Portugall, who finding difficultie in the Bianchi (which part as hee thought was the greater) feared the lesse, and departing from Florence offended, did excommunicate the cittie: whereby it became in worse estate then before his comming. Then the mindes of all men being full of offence, it happened that manie of the Circhi and Donati, meeting at a buriall, fell to words, and from words, to swordes. Whereof for that time followed nothing but tumult and disorder, and so everie man returned home. The Circhi then determined to assault the Donati, with great numbers of people went to seeke them. But by the vertue of Corso they were put backe, and manie of them also verie sore wounded. All the Cittie was up in Armes, the Signori, and the Lawes were trodden downe with furie of greate men. The wisest and best Cittizens lived full of suspition. The Donati and their partakers feared moste, because they could doo least. Thereuppon Corso, and the other heades of the Neri, together with the Captaines of the misteries, resolved to entreate the Pope, to sende unto Florence some one of the blood royall, hoping by his meanes to oppresse the Bianchi. This assembly and resolution was notified to the Priori, and of the adverse part complained upon, as a conspiracie against the libertie of the Cittie. Both the factions being at that time in Armes, the Senators (of whome Dante happened to bee one) by his counsaile and wisdom, tooke courage and Armed the people, with whome also joyned manie of the Countrey. And so enforcing the heades of the factions to laie downe their Armes, banished Corso Donati, with the others of the part

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Nera. Moreover, the Senators seeming to bee neutrall in this judgement, confined some of the Bianchi: who shortly after under colour of honest occasions returned home. Corso and his friends imagining themselves favoured by the Pope, went unto Rome, and with their presence perswaded the Pope unto that, which before they had written.

It happened at the same time that Carlo de Vallois the French Kings brother was in the Popes Court, called into Italy by the King of Napoli, to go into Sicilia. The Pope thought good (being desired thereunto by the banished men of Florence) to sende him to remaine at Florence, till such time as the season of the yeare better served to passe the seas. Then went Carlo to Florence, and although the Bianchi who then governed, had him in suspition, yet because hee was chiefe of the Guelfi and sent by the Pope, they durst not gainsay his comming, but to make him their friend, they gave him authoritie to dispose of the Cittie according to his owne discretion. Carlo having received this power, armed all his friends and followers: which gave the people great suspition that hee intended to usurpe the libertie. For preventing of which mischiefe, order was given, that everie Cittizen should arme himselfe, and stand with weapon at his owne doore, to be readie, if Carlo should at his entrie happen to enterprise any thing. The Circhi and other heads of the faction Biancha (having bene a while chiefe of the Common weale, and borne themselves in their offices proudly) were come into universall hatred, which encouraged Corso and others, banished men of the faction Nera, to come to Florence; knowing that Carlo with the Captaines of companies would favour them. When the Citie through the mistrust of Carlo was armed, Corso with the banished men and many others that followed him, came unto Florence: and without let, entered the Citie. And though Veri de Circhi, was perswaded to have encountered him, yet would he not, saying that the people of Florence (against whom he came) and not he should punish him. But the contrary came to passe, for he was by the people received, and not punished. And it behoved Veri for his owne safetie to flie. For Corso having entered the gate called Pinti, made head at S. Pietro Maggiore, neare

Carlo di
vollois, made
Governor of
Florence.

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to his owne house, whither many friends and many people desirous of noveltie, came. And first delivered all the prisoners that had bene either for publique or private cause committed. Then they enforced the Senators to returne to their houses as private persons: and elected in their places populer men of the faction Nera. For five dayes also they sacked those that were the chiefe of the part of Biancha. The Circhi and other Princes of that faction were gone out of the Citie, and retired to their places of force. And not seeing Carlo to entermedle, the greater part of the people became their enemies. Wherupon though they would not before follow the Councell of the Pope, now they were inforced to pray his aide, letting him understand, that Carlo was come to disunite, and not to unite the Citie. Then the Pope sent againe his Legate, Mattheo d'Acqua Sparta, who perswaded a peace betweene the Circhi and the Donati, confirming the same with new alliances and marriages. Hee also laboured that the Bianchi might bee partakers of the Offices in government: whereto the Neri (mistrusting the state should receive thereby some hinderance) would not consent. The Legate thereupon grew offended, and departed from thence as discontented, as hee had bene the time before, leaving the Cittie disobedient and cursed. Thus remained the one and the other part evill satisfied. The Neri seeing their adversaries at hand, feared least with their ruine, they should recover the authoritie by them lost. And the Bianchi seeing themselves deprived of authoritie and honour, therewith being had in disdaine and suspition, were offered new injuries.

Nicholo de Circhi, accompanied with diverse his friendes, and going towards his possessions, passing the bridge Affrico, was there assaulted by Simone sonne of Corso Donati. This conflict was great, and of either side verie bloodie: for Nicholo was slaine, and Simone so hurt, as the next night hee died. This chaunce troubled all the Cittie anew, and albeit the part Nera was therein most culpable, yet by those that governed, they were defended. Also, before judgement given, was discovered, that the Bianchi had entered a conspiracie with Pietro Feranti, a Barron belonging to Carlo. In which treason, they practised

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to place themselves againe in the government. This matter came to light, by Letters which the Circhi had written to the Barron: yet some men held opinion that those Letters were not true, but forged by the Donati, to shadowe the infamie, that by the death of Nicholo they had incurred. Thereuppon all the Circhi were confined, with all their followers of the parte Biancha: amongst whome was Dante the Poet. Their goods were solde, and their houses razed. These banished men, joyned with many Ghibilini, disposed them selves into manie places, and hoping with new travailes and troubles to finde new fortune, and Carlo having done that in Florence for which hee came, departed and returned to the Pope, to go on his enterprise of Sicilia: wherein hee shewed himselfe no wiser, nor better then hee was in Florence. So that with the losse of many of his, hee returned into Fraunce dishonoured.

After the departure of Carlo, the Cittie continued quiet. Corso onely was enclined to trouble, because hee thought himselfe not in that authoritie that hee ought to bee, but sawe the government in the hands of populer men, farre his inferiours. Hee then mooved with these passions, thought to performe a dishonest intent, by an honest occasion, slaundering manie Cittizens, who had the custodie of the publique treasure: saying that they had imployed the same to their private commodities, and therefore it were well done to examine their dooings and punish them for the same. This his evill opinion was allowed by manie that were men of the like disposition: with whome also manie others, through ignorance joyned: because they thought Corso had beene indeede mooved thereunto with the love of his Country. On the other side the Cittizens slaundered, having love borne them of the people, defended themselves. In so much, as this diversitie of opinions, after civill disputation brought them to Armes. On the one part was Corso Donati and Lottieri, Bishoppe of Florence: with manie great men, and some Commoners. On the other part, was the Senate, with the greater number of the people: so that the moste part of the Cittizens did fight. The Senators seeing the daunger wherein they were to bee great, prayed aide of the Lucchesi, and suddeinly all the

New troubles
by Corso
Donati.

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people of Lucca were in Florence : by whose authoritie, for that time, all things were composed. These tumultes appeased and asswaged, the people continued in their authoritie, and the libertie preserved, without any other punishment of him that mooved the slaunder. The Pope understanding the troubles of Florence, to pacifie the same, sent thither his Legate called Nicholao de Prato, who beeing a man for degree, learning, and good behaviour, greatlie reputed, obteyned easily so much favour, as to have authoritie to dispose of the state as himselfe thought good ; and for that hee was in faction a Ghibilin, hee intended to call home those that were banished : yet first thought good to win favour of the people. To that end he renewed the auncient companies, which greatly strengthened him, and weakened the Nobilitie. The Legate then (perswaded that the people were become all his) practised to call home those that had bene banished. For the compassing whereof he proved many meanes, which did not onely take evill successe, but also made himselfe thereby so much suspected among those that governed, as he was therby enforced to depart, and returne home to the Pope, leaving Florence full of confusion, and excommunicate.

In the citie at that time remained not only one humour, but many, to the disturbance thereof: being there in the displeasure betwixt the people and the Nobilitie, the Ghibilini and the Guelfi, the Bianchi and Neri. All the citie tooke Armes, because many Cittizens who desired the returne of the banished men, were evill content with the Legates departure. The chiefe of those that moved the quarrell, were the Medici and Guigni, who together with the Legate were discovered to favour the Rebels: In sundrie parts of the citie the people fought. To which disorder, there happened a fire, first in Orto Sante Michele, at the houses of the Abati: from whence it passed to the houses of the Caponfacci and burnt them, with the houses of Mazzi, Amieri, Toschi, Cipriani, Lamberti, and Cavalcanti, and all the new market. From thence it passed to the gate of S. Maria, and burnt all that, returning about Ponte Vecchio, and consumed the houses of Gherardini, Pulci, Amidei, and Luccardesi, with many others, that the

Medici and
Guini.

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number amounted to 1700 or more. Some were of opinion that this fire happened by chance in the fury of the conflict. Others affirme, that one Neri Abbati Prior of S. Pietro Scaragio, a man dissolute and desirous of mischief, kindled the same. For seeing everie man occupied in the conflict, knew he might do that displeasure, which no other could remedie. And to the end it might the rather have successe, hee set fire in the houses of his owne companions.

It was the yeare 1304, in the moneth of July, when the citie of Florence was with fire and sword in this sort afflicted. Corso Donati was hee, that of all others in these tumults armed not himselfe, because hee hoped the rather to be Judge and Umpire betwixt the parties: when being weary of fight, they should be content to be perswaded. Notwithstanding, weapons were laide downe rather for very wearinesse and necessitie, then through any pacification or perswasion of peace. For this onely followed thereof, that the Rebelsshould not returne, and the faction that favoured them remained with disadvantage. The Legate returning to Rome, and hearing the troubles that were begunne in Florence, perswaded the Pope, that for the uniting of that Cittie, it was necessarie for him to send thither for twelve principall Cittizens, whereby the roote of the mischief removed, it should be the more easie to quench the same. This Councill was by the Pope allowed, and the Citizens sent for, appeared. Amongst whom was Corso Donati. When these Cittizens were absent, the Legate wrote unto the Rebels, that the chiefe of the Cittizens were from home, and therefore the time served well for them to returne unto Florence. Which encouragement being received, they assembled their forces and came to the Cittie, entering where the walles were not fully finished: and passed forward, till they came to the Piazza di Saint Giovanni. It was a thing notable, to see how those cittizens, who had lately fought for the Rebelles, so long as disarmed they desired revocation, beeing now armed, and forcing the citie, became their enemies, and tooke armes against them. So much the common good was by those Cittizens esteemed and preferred before private friendship. Wherefore they uniting themselves with all the people, enforced the rebels to depart and

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New refor-
mation in
Florence.

returne from whence they came. This enterprise had no successe, both because the banished men had left part of their forces at Lastria: and for not having tarried the comming of Tolosetto Ubarti, who should have come from Pistoia with three hundreth men. But they imagined, that expedition should have prevailed more then force (as often in like cases it so happeneth) that delaies do hinder occasion: and haste wanteth force. The Rebels being gone back, Florence returned to the wonted divisions. Then to take authoritie from the house of Cavalcanti, the people by force removed them from possession of the Castle called Le Stinche, seated in the vale of Greve aunciently belonging thereto. And because the souldiers therein taken, were the first that were put into that prison newly builded, that prison ever after, was called Le Stinche, by the name of the Castle from whence the prisoners came. Also those that were chiefe of the Common-weale, renewed the companies of the people, and gave them Ensignes as had bene before ordered: making Gonfalonieri of the misteries, calling them Colleggio di Signori. They ordeined also, that the Senate should reforme all disorders, in time of warre, by Armes, and in time of peace, by Counsell. They joyned unto the two old Rettori one Essecutore, who, together with the Gonfalonieri, should reforme the insolencie of the great men.

Corso
Donati.

In the meane time died the Pope, and Corso with other Cittizens was returned from Rome. The Cittie should then have continued quiet, had it not bene with the unquietnesse of Corso anew disturbed. He, to gaine himselfe reputation, ever used to hold opinion contrarie to men of most authoritie: and wherunto he found the people enclined (to gaine their favour) that way he directed his authoritie. Whereby he made himselfe head of all new opinions, and to him resorted all those who sought to obtaine any thing by extraordinary meane. For that cause many great Citizens did hate him, which hatred encreased so much, as the faction of Neri came to open division, because Corso imploied private forces, and such as were enemies to the state. Notwithstanding, so great was the authoritie of his person and presence, that everie man feared him: yet to winne from him the populer

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favour (as by such kinde of meanes might easily be done) a brute was put foorth, that he went about to tyrannize the citie : which was easily beleaved, because his maner of living did in troth surpasse the charge of civil expence. That opinion was encreased greatly, after he tooke to wife the daughter of Ugucione della Faggiola, chiefe of the faction Ghibilini and Bianca, in Toscana most mightie. This alliance come to knowledge, the adverse part tooke Armes ; and the people for the same occasion refused to defend him : the chieftest of them joyning with his enemies. The greatest of his adversaries were Rosso della Tosa, Pazzino de Pazzi, Geri Spini, and Berto Brunelleschi : they with their followers, and the greater part of the people, assembled themselves armed at the foote of the Pallace, of the Signori. By whose order an accusation was preferred to Piero Brancha (Captain of the people) against Corso Donati, for that he, with the aide of Ugucione, sought to make himselfe a tyrant. Then was he cited to appeare, and after for contumacie judged a Rebell. Betwixt his accusation and the judgement pronounced, was not longer time then two houres. This sentence given, the companies of the people under their Ensignes, marched towards him. Corso on the other side was not dismaied, (though he were abandoned by many his friends) nor for the sentence pronounced, nor yet with the authoritie of the Senators, nor the multitude of his enemies : but fortified his house, hoping there to defend himselfe, till he were rescued by Ugucione, for whom he had sent. All his houses, and all the waies unto them, were fortified and made close : and within, many of his faction to defend them. So that, the people (though in great numbers come thither) could not enter. The conflict was great, many slaine, and many hurt of either side. And the people seeing that by those wayes they could not prevaile, brake the houses of his neighbours, and by that devise not mistrusted, did enter.

Corso then seeing himselfe beset with enemies, and no longer trusting to the helpe of Ugucione, resolved to see what meane he could finde to save himselfe, sith of victorie hee utterly dispaired. Then with Gherardo Bondini, and many others his most valiant and faithfull friends, he charged his enemies with so great furie, as he brake them,

Corso
condemned.

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The death of
Corso Donati
1308.

and made way to passe through to the gate of the Citie, where they got out. Yet were they still pursued, Gherardo upon the bridge Affrico, was by Bocaccio Caviccivoli slaine. Corso also was taken at Bovezano, by certaine horsemen belonging to the Senate. Notwithstanding beeing brought towards Florence, hating the sight of his enemies, and the glorie of their victorie, he fell from his horse, and was by one of them which ledde him, there murthered. The bodie was after taken up by the Monkes of S. Salvi, and (without any honor) by them buried. This was the end of Corso Donati, unto whom, his country, and the faction of Neri, for many deeds both good and bad, must acknowledge it selfe beholding. But had his disposition and mind bene more quiet, the memorie of him had deserved great honour. For indeed he was a Citizen so rare, as had at any time before bene seene in our citie. Yet true it is, that his factious mind bereft him of that honour which by his country and confederates was due: and in the end, procured his owne death, with many other misadventures. Ugucione comming to the rescue of his sonne in law, and arrived at Remoli, heard there that Corso was by the people taken. Wherupon, knowing that he could by no means then helpe him, for not hurting himselfe, returned backe.

The Emperor
Arrigo called
into Italy
1312.

Corso thus ending his life (which happened in the yeare 1308) was the cause that all tumults ceased, and the citie continued quiet, till such time as intelligence was given, that Arrigo the Emperour (who favoured by the Florentine Rebelles) was come into Italy, followed by them, and intending to put them againe in possession of their country. For preventing of which mischiefe, the Magistrates of the citie thought good to call home all those that had not bene by speciall name banished: whereby the number of their enemies should be the lesse. The greater number that remained in exile were Ghibilini, and some fewe of the faction Bianca, among whom were Dante Alighieri, the sonnes of Veri de Cerchi, and Giano della Bella. They sent also for aide to Roberto King of Napoli, which not obtained at his hand as their friend: they were enforced to give him the citie for five yeares; to the end, he might defend them as his subjects. Then the Emperour passed into Italy, and

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by the way of Pisa, went to Rome, there to be crowned, in the year 1312. Afterwards, determining to reforme Florence, hee returned thither by Perugia and Arezzo: and lodged his Campe at the Monastery of S. Salvi, distant one myle from the citie; where he remained fiftie dayes, without any good done, and therefore as desperate of successe, removed to Pisa; where he agreed with Federigo King of Sicilia, to assault the kingdom of Napoli. Being with his Army there arrived, in great hope of victorie, and the King Roberto in great feare of his distruction, at Buonconvento he died. It happened shortly after, that Uguccione di Faggiola, became Prince of Pisa, and not long after of Lucca: brought thither by the faction of Ghibilini, with whose aide he greatly injured his neighbours. Amongst whom, the Florentines to be delivered, gave unto the brother of King Roberto, the government of their Army. Uguccione on the other side, for the encreasing of his power, laboured continually, till by force and subiltie he had gotten many Castles in the vale of Arno and Nievole. Then marching towards Monte Catini, with intent to besiege the same, the Florentines thought it necessarie to rescue that place, least the losse thereof might disturbe the whole countrey. Then assembling a great Army, they passed into the vale Nievole, where they fought with Uguccione, and in the end of their battaile, two thousand or more of their men were slaine, with Piero the Kings brother their Generall; whose bodie afterwards was never found: neither was this victorie without losse to Uguccione, whose sonne was also killed, with many Captaines and Leaders of his Armie.

The death of
Arrigo.

The Florentines after this overthrow, fortified the townes about them, and the King Roberto sent them a new Generall called Andrea Earle Novello. By whose government, (or rather by the naturall inclination of the Florentines, discontented with everie state, and divided by everie accident) notwithstanding the warres they lately had with Uguccione, fell to faction. The one part whereof, called themselves the Kings friends, the other the Kings enemies. The chiefe of the Kings enemies, were Simon della Tosa, the house of Magalotti, with certaine other populer men, in whom rested the chiefe of the government. These men found meanes to

New divition
in Florence.

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Lando de
Agobio, made
Governor of
Florence.

send into France and Germany, to leaue Capitaines and souldiers to remove the Earle Andrea Governour for the King. But their fortune was such, as could not bring to passe that they desired: yet did they not abandon the enterprise, but beeing disappointed both by France and Germany, they found out a Governour in Agobio, and before his comming, removed Andrea. Lando de Agobio being come, was made their minister, or rather their hangman, having received absolute authoritie over all the citizens. He, being a man covetous and cruell, accompanied with his souldiers (all armed) visited everie streete, murthuring everie man, whom those that elected him, would require. Yea, (such was his insolencie) that he caused false mony to be quoined with the stampe of Florence, and no man durst gainsay the doing therof: so great was the authoritie whereunto the discord of the citie had brought him. Great and lamentable was the estate of this towne, which neither the memorie of passed division, neither the feare of Ugucione, nor the authoritie of the King could reforme. In most miserable plight it then remained, when the country abroad was spoyled by Ugucione, and the citie within by Lando of Agobio sacked. The Kings friends were all contrary to Lando and his followers. Likewise all Noble houses, the chiefe of the people, and al the Guelfi. Notwithstanding, because the adverse party had the government, they could not without perill to themselves be discovered. Yet resolving to be delivered from so dishonest a tyrannie, they wrote secretly unto the King Roberto, to make the Earle Guido Buttifolle his Lieftenant in Florence: which the King presently did, and the adverse part (notwithstanding that the Senators were contrarie to the King) durst not for the respect they bare to the Earle, finde fault. But the Earle had not therby much authoritie, because the Senators and the Gonfaloniere were by Lando and his partie favoured. During the continuance of these troubles in Florence, the daughter of King Alberto comming from Germany, passed that way in her journey towards Carlo, the sonne of Roberto her husband. She was greatly honoured by the Kings friends, and they imparted unto her the state of the citie, and the tyrannie of Lando with his followers. In so much

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as by the favour of her, before her departure the citie was pacified, Lando removed from his authoritie, and with riches, blood, and spoile, sent home to Agobio. The government also of the King over the citie, for three yeares was continued. And whereas there had bene before seven Senators elected by Lando, six more were chosen for the King, so the Magistrates were for a time thirteene. After, they were reduced to the auncient number of seven. About this time Ugucione was deprived of his authoritie in Lucca and Pisa; and Castruccio Castracani, from a private Cittizen, aspired to be Lord of Lucca; for hee being a yong man of great courage, and in everie enterprise fortunate, became in short space the principall Leader of all the Ghibilini in Toscana. For which respect, the Florentines setting aside private discord, devised with themselves by what meanes Castruccio might be kept downe: and how his forces alreadie growne might be resisted. And to the end that the Senators might with better counsell be advised, and with more authoritie execute the same, they elected twelve Cittizens, whome they called Boni Homini: without whose consent and counsell, the Senators might not do any thing of importance.

Castruccio
Castracani.

In this mean while, the government of king Roberto was expired, and the citie became Prince over it selfe, with the auncient Magistrates and governors therof. Also the great feare they had of Castruccio, did hold the same united, hee having done many things against the Lords of Lunigiana, and assembled Prato. The Florentines hearing those newes, resolved: and determining to rescue that towne, shut up their shops and went confusedly together, to the number of twentie thousand footmen, and fiftene hundreth horse. Also to diminish the strength of Castruccio, and encrease their owne, the Senators by proclamation gave notice, that whatsoever Rebell of the faction of Guelfi, would come to the rescue of Prato, should be after the enterprise restored to his country. Upon this proclamation more then foure thousand Rebels came presently thither. This great Army in haste conducted to Prato, so much terrified Castruccio, that without triall of his fortune by fight, he retired to Lucca. Then grew great controversiewithin the Campe of the Florentines, betwixt the Nobilitie and the people: for these

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would have followed the enemie, hoping by fight to have overthrowne him; and those would returne backe, saying, it sufficed that they had hazarded Florence to succour Prato. Which was well done, being constrained by necessitie, but sith the cause was now remooved, no wisdom would (where litle was to be gotten and much to be lost) that fortune should be further tempted. This matter (the people not agreeing) was referred to the Senators, who found among themselves the same diversitie of opinions that was betweene the people and the Nobilitie: which being knowne, much company assembled in the Market place, using great words of threatnings to the Nobilitie; In so much that they for feare, gave place to the will of the people: but all too late, because in the meane while the enemy was with safetie retired to Lucca. This disorder brought the people into so great indignation of the Nobilitie, that the Senators would not performe the promise, by their consent given to the Rebels: which the Rebels understanding, and hoping to prevent the Senate before the Campe arrived at Florence, offered to enter the gates. But their intent being discovered by those in the Citie, were repulsed. Then they sought to compasse that by perswasion, which by force they could not, and sent eight Ambassadors to put the Senators in remembrance of their promise, and the perill they had under the same adventured, hoping of that reward which was by them offered. The Nobilitie thereby put in mind, and knowing themselves by promise bound, laboured greatly in the favour of the Rebels. Notwithstanding, by reason the people were offended, for not following the enterprise of Castruccio, nothing was obtained: which afterward proved the great shame and dishonour of the citie. For many of the Nobilitie therewith displeased, did assaie to win that by force, which by entreatie they could not. For which purpose, they conspired with the rebelles to enter the Cittie armed, and they would take armes also for their aide. This appointment before the day of execution, was discovered: whereby the banished men at their comming found the cittie armed, and order given to apprehend them abroad, and keepe downe those that were within. Thus this enterprise was in everie respect without successe.

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After the departure of the rebels, the citizens desired to punish those by whose means they did come thither. And albeit everie man knew who were the offenders, yet no mandurst name them, much lesse accuse them. Therefore to understand the troth without respect, it was ordered, that secretly the names of the offenders should bee written, and privilie delivered to the Captaine. In this accusation were named Amerigo Donati, Teghiaio, Frescobaldi, and Lotteringo Gerardini: who having Judges more favourable, then perhaps they deserved, were onely condemned in pecuniall punishment. The tumults which grew in Florence by comming of the Rebels to the gate, made triall that one Chieftaine for all the companies of the people did not suffice: and therefore they required after, that to everie company might be appointed three or foure Leaders; and to everie Gonfaloniere two or three others, whom they would have called Pennonieri. To the end, that in time of necessitie all the companie not assembling, part of them, under one head might be employed. Moreover (as it happeneth in all common weales after any accident) some old lawes be disannulled, and some others are made new: so the Senate before appointed from time to time, the Senators with the Collegii which then were (to the end their force might be the greater) had authority given them and their successors, to continue in office during the space of fortie moneths. And because many Citizens feared their names not to be put into the bagge, they procured a new Imborsation. Of this beginning, grew the election of Magistrates, as well within, as without the Citie: which election was in those dayes called Imborsation. Afterwards the same was called Squittini. And for that everie three, or at the most five yeares, this order was taken, the occasion of tumults in the Citie, at the choice of Magistrats, was remooved, yet were they ignorant of such discommodities, as under this small commoditie was hidden.

The yeare 1315 being come, and Castruccio having surprised Pistoia, was growne to that greatnesse, that the Florentines fearing the same, determined before such time as he was settled in his Principallitie, to assault him, and bring him under their obedience. For which purpose they

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Ramondo di
Cardana,
Generall for
the Florents.

levied twentie thousand foote men, and three thousand horse. With these forces they besieged Altopassio, in hope by having of that Towne, to impeach the passage of those that would come to the succour of Pistoia. The Florentines prevailed in this enterprise, and having taken the place, marched towards Lucca, spoiling the country where they went. Notwithstanding, through the small wisdom of the Generall, or rather his infidelitie, little good ensued thereof. This Captaine was called Ramondo de Cardona. Hee, seeing the Florentines to have bene liberall of their libertie, giving the same somtimes to Kings, and sometimes to the Legates of Popes, and men of meane qualitie: thought it possible to bring himselfe to be a Prince; if first he could lead them into some great necessitie. He gave them therefore to understand, that for his better reputation, it was meete for him to have the same authoritie within the Citie, that he had in the Army: otherwise he should not have that obedience of his souldiers which belonged unto a Generall. Whereto the Florentines not consenting, the Army proceeded slowly, or rather everie day losing somewhat: and Castruccio continually gained. Because, by that time were come unto him diverse supplies sent by the Visconti, and other tirants of Lombardy.

The Floren-
tines over-
throwne by
Castruccio.

Castruccio by this meane growne strong, and Ramondo having neglected his service: as for want of fidelitie he did not prosper at the first, so he could not after save himselfe: for whilest he lingered with his Camp, Castruccio did assault him, and overthrew him, neare unto Altopassio. In which conflict many Citizens were slaine, and with them Ramondo himselfe: who thereby found the punishment of fortune, which his infidelitie and evill service to the Florentines deserved. The displeasures which Castruccio did after the victorie, by spoyling, distroying, burning, imprisoning, and killing, cannot be told. Because without any resistance he rode up and down in the country, where himselfe listed, spoyling, and committing what cruelties hee thought good. The Florentines scantly able, after so great an overthrow, to defend the citie: yet were they not so greatly dismayd, but that they made much provision, both of men and money: sending also to their friends, to have

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their aide. All which sufficed not to bridle the furie of so mightie an enemye. Wherefore as constrained, they made choyse of Carlo Duke of Calauria, son to King Roberto, to be their Prince: offering him, not their friendship, but their obedience, and prayed him to defend their Citie. But Carlo being occupied in the warres of Sicilia (and therefore not at leisure to come in person), sent thither Gualtieri, by Nation a French man, and Duke of Athene. He as deputie for his maister, tooke possession of the Citie, and placed officers according to his owne discretion. Notwithstanding, his behaviour was so modest, and contrary to his owne nature; that everie man loved him.

The Duke of
Athene,
Governour of
Florence.

Carlo having ended the warres of Sicilia, being followed with a thousand horse men came to Florence, and made his entry in the yeare 1326, whose coming staid Castruccio from spoyling of the Florentines countrye. But that reliefe which was found abroad, was lost within, and those displeasures which the enemies could not, were by friends performed. Bicause the Senators did nothing without the Dukes consent: who within the space of one yeare, levied in the Citie foure thousand Florins, notwithstanding that by the capitulation with him taken, it was agreed, hee should have but two thousand. So great impositions were daily by him or his exacted. To these displeasures new suspitions, and new enemies were discovered. For the Ghibilini of Lombardy suspected so much the coming of Carlo into Toscana, that Gualazzo Visconti and other tyrants of Lombardy, by mony and promises, procured Lodovico di

The Empe-
rour Lodovico
called into
Italy.

Baviera Emperour elected, against the Popes wil to come into Italy: who being arrived in Lombardy, marched towards Toscana, where with the helpe of Castruccio hee became Lord of Pisa. And being relieved with mony, he went towards Rome: which caused Carlo to leave Florence, and returne to the kingdome, leaving Philippo de Sagginetto his Lieftenant.

Castruccio, after the Emperours departure possessed Pisa, and the Florentines tooke from him by practise, Pistoia, which Castruccio after besieged, with so great vertue and resolution, that although the Florentines many times assaied to rescue the Towne, sometimes assailing the Army, and some-

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The death of
Castruccio
and Carlo
Duke of
Calauria.

New refor-
mation in
Florence.

The death of
Lodovico.

times disturbing the Country: yet could they never either by force or industry, remove him from that enterprise. So greatly he thirsted to chastise the Pistoiesi, and offend the Florentines. By meanes whereof, the Pistoiesi were constrained to receive him for their Prince: which thing, albeit were greatly to his glorie, proved in the end his disadvantage. For being returned to Lucca, there he died. And because that one good or evil hap, commeth sildome unaccompanied, with the like: also at the same time died Carlo Duke of Calauria Prince of Florence, as it were, to the end that the Florentines beyond all expectation might be delivered from the government of the one, and the feare of the other. They thus become free, reformed the cittie, disanulled all orders of the olde Councelles, and created twoo newe Councelles: the one having in it three hundreth Cittizens Commoners, and the other two hundreth and fiftie Gentlemen, and Commoners, mixed. The first of these, was called the Councell of the people, the other the common Councell.

The Emperour beeing arrived at Rome, created an Antipope, and ordered many things in prejudice of the church, and many other things also hee attempted without effect. And therefore with this honour he removed from Rome to Pisa; where, either of melancholy, or for want of mony to paie eight hundred Almaine horsemen, who were rebelled, and at Montechiaro had fortified themselves, died. They, so soone as the Emperour departed from Pisa to go unto Lombardy, surprised Lucca, and drave out of that cittie Francesco Castracani, left there by the Emperour. Then being possessed of that cittie, and intending to make profit thereof, offered to sell it to the Florentines, for threescore thousand Florins, and was refused by the Councell of Simon della Tosa. This refusal would have bene to our cittie most profitable, if the Florentines had ever continued in that minde: but because shortly after they changed opinion, it was greatly to our losse. For if at that time for so small price, they might so peaceably have had it, and would not, afterward desiring it, and offering much more then was required, they could not obtaine it: which was the occasion, that Florence many times with great prejudice hath changed the government. Lucca being thus by the Florentines

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refused, was by Gerardino Spinola of Genova, for thirtie thousand Florins bought. And because men be more slow to laie hold of that which they may come by, then to desire that they cannot attaine unto: so soone as this bargaine made with Gerardino was knowne, and how small a summe of mony be paid; the people of Florence became greatly desirous to have it, repenting themselves, and blaming those that were the cause that the bargaine proceeded not. Then sought they to get that by force, which for money was refused. For obtaining whereof, they sent their souldiers to spoile the country belonging to Lucca.

In this meane time, the Emperour was gone out of Italy, and the Antipope by order of the Pisani, sent prisoner into France. The Florentines then, from the death of Castuccio (which happened in the yeare 1328) til the yeare 1340, continued quiet within, and attended their matters of state abroad. They also made many wars in Lombardy, for the comming thither or king John of Bohemia, and in Toscana, touching the state of Lucca. They likewise ornesied their cittie with new buildings. For in that time, the Tower of S. Reparata, according to the direction of Giotto (an excellent Painter), was builded. And because, in the yeare 1333 by meanes of a marvellous flood, the River of Arno into many places overflowed the cittie, more then 12 cubits; many bridges and buildings were thereby decaied, which with great care and expence were now restored. But the yeare 1340 being come, new occasions of alteration were growne up. The cittizens of most power, had two meanes to encrease and maintain their greatnesse. The one, by restraining the number of those that should be elected Magistrates, whereby the offices of authoritie came either unto them, or their friends. The other, because themselves being chiefe at the election of the Rettori, they were by them in their offices the more favoured. And this second cause they esteemed so much, that to these two ordinarie Rettori, they also joyned a third: whom they in those dayes brought in extraordinarie, under the title of Captaine of the Guard, and placed therein Jacamo Gabrieli de Agobio, giving him absolute authoritie over the citizens. He, day by day, before the face of them that governed,

The troubles
and war in
Florence all
ceased.

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Conspiracy
against
Jacomo
Gabrieli of
Agobio.

committed many injuries, and among those that were injured, was Piero de Bardi, and Bardo Frescobaldi. They, being gent. and naturally proud, could not endure that a stranger wrongfully, and in the presence of some Magistrates had done them injurie: which, both against him, and those that governed, they conspired to revenge. Into that conspiracie, entered many Noble families, and some of the people; whom the tyrannie of him that governed, did offend. The order of execution agreed upon, was, that every man shuld assemble into his house as many armed men as he could, and in the morning of All Saints day, when everie bodie was in the church, to take armes, and kill the Captaine. Which done, they determined to place new Senators, and with new orders to reforme the state. But because enterprises of perill, the more they be thought upon, the more unwillingly be performed. It alwaies happeneth, that conspiracies not suddenly executed, are for the most part discovered.

There was among the conspirators one called Andrea de Bardi, (in whom the consideration of punishment could do more, then the hope of revenge) revealed all to Jacamo Alberti his brother in law. Then Jacamo enformed the Priori, and the Priori enformed the Governours. And because the day of danger grew neare (which was the feast of All Saints) manie citizens consulted in the Pallace, and thinking it dangerous to deferre the time, judged it best that the Senators should cause the bell to be rung, and thereby call the people to armes. Taldo Valori was Gonfalonieri, and Francesco Salviati, one of the Senate. They being to the Bardi kinsmen, would not have the Bell rung, saying it were not well done, upon everie light occasion to arme the people. For authority being given to a loose multitude, could worke no good effect. It was also easie to move tumults, but to appease them, hard. It were therefore much better, first to examin the troth of the cause, and punish the same by law, then correct it disorderly with ruine of the citie; which words were not willingly heard. For the Senators with many injurious and presumptuous speeches, were enforced to ring the Bell: upon hearing wherof, all the people ran sodeinly into the market place,

Taldo Valori.

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armed. On the other side, the Bardi and Frescobaldi, seeing themselves discovered, intending to winne their purpose with glory, or die without shame, tooke armes : hoping to defend that part of the citie where their own houses were : and on the other side of the river fortified the bridges, trusting to be succoured by the nobility of the country, and other their friends. Which purpose was disappointed by the people that inhabited where their houses were, who tooke armes in favour of the Senat : so that finding themselves disapointed, they abandoned the bridges, and retired to the street where the Bardi dwelt, as a place of more strength then any other, and that very valiantly they defended.

Jacobo de Agobio knowing all this conspiracy to be against him, fearful of death, and amazed, at the pallace of the Senators in the midst of the armed men, placed himself. But there was more courage in the Rettori, who had lesse offended : and most of all in the Podesta, called Maffeo de Maradi. For he presented himself to those that fought, and as a man senceles, and without al feare, passing the bridge Rubaconte, entred in among the swords of the Bardi, making signes to speak with them. Wherupon they considering the reverence of the man, his vertue, and other his good, and great qualities, staied their weapons, and quietly heard him. He then with modest and grave words blamed their conspiracy, laying before them the perils wherto they were subject, if they gave not over this populer enterprise : giving them also hope, that they should be favourably heard, and mercifully judged. And promised moreover, to be the mean wherby their reasonable offences should find compassion. Then he returned back to the Senators, and persuaded them not to be victorious with the bloud of their own citicens, neither to judge before the cause were heard. And his persuasion prevailed so much, as by consent of the Senate the Bardi and Frescobaldi with their friends, were suffered to abandon the citie and return to their castles. They being gone, and the people disarmed, the Senators proceeded onely against the families of Bardi and Frescobaldi, who had taken armes. And to spoile them of some part of their power, they bought of the Bardi, the

Maffeo de
Maradi.

The Bardi
and Fresco-
baldi con-
demned.

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Castle of Mangona, and the Castle of Varina, and made a lawe, that no Cittizen might possesse a Castle within twentie miles of Florence. Within fewe monethes after, Stiatta Frescobaldi was beheaded, and many others of that familie proclaimed Rebelles. It sufficed not the Governours to have oppressed the Bardi, and Frescobaldi, but they did (as men commonly doo) the more authoritie they have, the worse they use it, and the more insolent they become: so, where was before one Captaine of the Guard who oppressed the Cittizens within Florence, they also chose an other in the Countrey, to the ende, that men to them suspected, should neither within the Cittie nor without, have anie dwelling. So earnestly were they bent against the Nobilitie, that they forced not to sell the Cittie to be revenged: aspecting onely occasion, which came well, and they better used the same.

By meanes of many troubles which hapned in Lombardy and Toscana, the possession of the citie of Lucca was come into the hands of Mastino della Scalla, Lord of Verona, who (notwithstanding hee was bounde to deliver the same to the Florentines) did not, because he thought himselfe able to hold it, the rather, by being Lord of Parma, and therefore of his promise he made none account at all, which moved the Florentines to offence. For revenge whereof, they joyned against him with the Venetians, and made so hotte warres upon him, as thereby he was inforced almost to abandon his country. Notwithstanding therof followed nothing, but some satisfaction of mind, to have oppressed Mastino. For the Venetians (as all other doe that joyne in league with such as be weaker then themselves) after they had surprised Trivigi and Vicenza, without respect of the Florentines made peace with Mastino. Shortly after, the Visconti Princes of Milan, having taken Parma from Mastino, and hee fearing for that cause, that Lucca could not be kept, determind to sell it. Those that desired to buy that citie, were the Florentines and the Pisani. In beating the bargain, the Pisani perceived that the Florentines richer then they, would obtaine it. Therefore they sought to winne it by force, and with the aide of Visconti besieged it. The Florentines notwithstanding proceeded, and bargained with Mastino, paying part of the money in

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hand, and for payment of the rest, delivered hostages, Naldo Ruccelai, Giovanni the sonne of Barnardino de Medici, and Rosso de Rici: and then by order of Mastino, the possession of the Citie was delivered. The Pisani notwithstanding pursued their enterprize, and by all meanes possible laboured to get the Cittie by force: yet went the Florentines to rescue the Cittie, and remoove the siege. But after a long warre, the Florentines were forced with losse of their money and honour to depart: and the Pisani became Lords of the Citie. The losse of this Towne (as in like cases it ever happeneth) made the people of Florence greatly offended with those that governed, whome in everie Market place they defamed, accusing them of covetousnesse and unadvised counsell.

At the beginning of this warre, the authoritie thereof, was given to twentie Citizens, who elected Malatesta of Rimini for their Generall. He governed the same with small courage, and lesse wisdom. They also praied aide of Roberto King of Napoli, who sent unto them Gualtieri Duke of Athene: and (as fortune would, preparing all things for future mischief) arrived in Florence, at the same instant when the enterprize of Lucca was utterly lost. Whereupon the twentie, seeing the people displeased, thought by chusing a new Captaine, to bring them into new hope. And to the end that the Duke of Athene might with more authoritie defende them, they created him first their Defender, and after gave him the title of Captaine Generall, over their men at Armes. The great Cittizens, who for the occasions beforesaid, lived discontent, and many of them having also acquaintance with Gualtieri, at such time as they governed Florence in the name of Carlo Duke of Calauria, thought the time was come to alter the state, and oppresse the people, who had so long oppressed them. For the bringing of that to passe, they thought good to reduce the government under one Prince, who knowing their vertue, and the insolencie of the people, might reward the one and punish the other. They might also hope the more of the Princes favour, if he by their meanes, aspired to that dignitie. To compasse this intention, they manie times met in secret, and perswaded the

The Duke of
Athene.

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Duke to take the government, offering to aide him to the uttermost of their powers. With these Gentlemen, joyned some populer families, as the Perussi, Acciaivoli, Antellesi, and Buonacorsi, who being greatly indebted, and not able to paie of their owne, desired with the servitude of their country, and the goods of others to deliver themselves from the daunger of their creditors. Those perswasions mooved the ambitious minde of the Duke, to great desire of government, and the rather to make himselfe beloved, and accounted upright, therewith also to winne the favoure of the people, hee persecuted those that had governed the warres of Lucca, and put to death, Giovan de Medici, Naddo Ruccellaii, and Guglielmo Altoviti: many also were banished, and manie in money condemned. These executions amazed much those of the meane sort, onelie the Gentlemen and basest people were therewith satisfied. These, because their nature is to rejoyce at evill, and those for that thereby their injuries received of the people, were revenged. When so ever the Duke passed the streetes, his favourers would publicquely speake to his honour, and wish that the fraude of the Citizens might be by him examined and punished. The office of the twentie thus became disesteemed, the reputation of the Duke growne great, and all men for feare, or affection, seemed to honour him. And in token thereof, set the Dukes Armes upon their houses. In so much, as this Duke wanted nothing that belonged to absolute authoritie, saving the title of Prince. Then he perswaded himselfe, that whatsoever he attempted might be safely done, and therefore sent unto the Senators, letting them understand, that for the better government of the citie, it behoved him to have the full absolute authoritie and government: and seeing that all the rest of the Citizens were therto consenting, he desired that therewith they would be also pleased.

The Senators albeit that long before they had foreseene the ruine of their Countrey, yet were they all with this request greatly troubled. And though they knew also the perill, yet not to omit the dutie to their Countrey, they boldly denied the Duke. This Duke to make himselfe be thought the more religious, and well disposed, did choose

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for his dwelling, the Monasterie of Saint Croce : and being desirous to execute his evill intent, hee caused to be published by proclamation, that his pleasure was the people should resort unto him, at the gate of the saide Monasterie. This proclamation amazed the Senate much more then the message, delivered them by word. Wherefore they thought good to joyne with those Cittizens, whome they knew to be lovers of their Countrey. Neither did they thinke (knowing the Dukes forces) that there was other remedie, to divert the Duke from the enterprise, then to entreate him : and so make prooffe what effect faire words might worke, to perswade him to use himselfe in the government more mildly. Then went certaine of the Senators unto the Duke, and one of them spake as followeth. My Lord, we are come hither, first moved by your Graces request, and next by your commandement to assemble the people. For it seemeth a thing certaine, that you intend to obtaine that extraordinarily, whereunto by ordinarie meanes wee have not consented. Our meaning is, not by force to hinder your designes, but onely laie before you, how greivous a burthen you put upon us, and how perillous an action you take in hand. To the end you may hereafter remember our Counsels, and waigh the same with theirs, who not for your profit, but for the execution of their owne furie, have counselled you. You labour to bring this citie in bondage, which hath ever lived in libertie. For that authoritie which we have graunted to the Princes of Napoli, was companie, and not subjection. Have you considered of what importaunce and how joyfull a thing the name of libertie is, in everie Cittie like unto this? The vertue whereof, no force can subdue, no time can consume, nor no merite can deserve. Consider (my Lord) how great forces it be-hoveth you to have, to hold so great a Citie in servitude. Those straungers, whome you have entertained, bee not of force sufficient : and these that be within the walles, are not to be trusted. For such as be now your friends, and have counselled you to this enterprise, so soone as they have with your authoritie beaten down their enemies, wil seek also by what means they may to oppresse you, and make themselves Princes. The base multitude also in whom you

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trust, upon every accident, (be it never so litle) do chaunge their opinion. So that in short time, you may looke to find this citie your foe, which shall be the ruine thereof, and yours also. Neither can you find remedie for such a mischief, sith those Princes onely can govern securely, who have few enemies: because those few, either by death or exile may easily be removed. But against universall hatred, no assurance can be found: because you know not where the mischief groweth. And who so feareth every man, cannot assure himselfe of any man. Also, if you seeke to be assured of others, you environ your selfe with perils: because those that remain, do hate you the more, and are the more readie to revenge. A thing most certain it is, that no time can weare out the desire of liberty. For we know, where the same hath bene in a citie revived by those, who never tasted thereof, save onely by the memorie of this name libertie, which their ancestors by tradition did leave them. Therfore having recovered it, with all obstinacie and resolution they wil defend it, and if our ancestors had never left any signe of libertie, yet should we be put in mind therof, by these publike Pallaces, by these places made for Magistrates, and these badges of freedom and libertie: which things be publicly knowne, and with great desire every citizen studieth to know them. What can you do, or what can by any meanes be done, to countervaille the sweetnesse of life in libertie, or make the people forget the commodities therof? Yea though you could joyne all Toscana to the dominion of this state, or might every day return to the citie, triumphing over your enemies, yet all should not suffice. Because that glory should not be yours, but ours. And our citizens should conquer no subjects, but encrease companions in servitude. Albeit your maners were godly, your behaviour curteous, and your judgements just: yet were they not of force enough to make you be loved. If you would beleieve, they did suffice; you therin should deceive your self. For to men accustomed to a life in libertie, the lightest clog seemeth heavie, and the losest bands do pinch. A thing impossible it is for any state by violence gotten, to be by a good Prince mainteined: because of force he must become

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like unto his government, otherwise the one and the other wil perish. You must therfore thinke either to hold the citie with extreame violence, as castles, garrisons of men, and forrein friends (and yet many times they suffice not) or els be content, with that authoritie, which we have given you. We therefore perswade you, and pray you to remember, that such obedience is durable, as is also voluntary. And labor not (being blinded with some ambition) to set your self where you neither can stand nor clime higher without your great prejudice and ours, and so be forced to fall. These words moved not at all the hardened heart of the Duke, saying, his intention was not to take away, but restore the liberty of the citie. For cities dis-united were not free, but those that were united. And if Florence by reason of factions, ambition, and enmitie, had lost the libertie, hee would restore it. Saying moreover, that not his owne ambition, but the sute of many Cittizens, brought him to take this burthen: and therefore they should do well to be content with that, wherewith others were contented. As touching those perils which hee might by this occasion incurre, hee feared them not at all. For it was the office of no good man, to leave the good, for feare of evill, and the propertie of a coward, for feare of good successe, to abandon a glorious enterprise. Also hee hoped so to beare himselfe, as they should have cause in short space, to confesse that they trusted him too little, and feared him too much.

The Dukes
answere to
the Senate.

The Senate then seeing no more good to be done, agreed that the next morning with their authoritie to give the government unto the Duke for one yeare, with the same conditions, it was given to Carlo Duke of Calauria. It was the eight day of September 1342, when the Duke accompanied by Giovan della Tosa, with all his followers, and many Cittizens, came into the Market place, and there in presence of the Senators, ascended up to the Ringiera (for so they called that place of the staires belonging to the Pallace) where the conditions between the Senate, and the Duke were read. And when the Reader pronounced those words, which gave the Duke authoritie for one yeare: the people cried for his life. Then Francesco Rusticheli (one

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of the Senate) rose up to speake, and appease the tumult: but his words, were, with shouting of the people interrupted. So as by consent of the multitude he was created Prince, not for one yeare only, but for ever: and being carried by the multitude about the market place, his name was proclaimed. It is the custome, that whosoever is appointed to the Guard of the Pallace, shall in absence of the Senators be shut up therein. To which office at that time was Rinieri di Giotto appointed: hee being corrupted by the Dukes friends, without anie violence offered, received the Duke into the Pallace. And the Senators therewith amazed, and dishonored, went home to their owne houses. Then was the Pallace by the Dukes servants sacked. The Gonfalon del Populo thrust out, and the Dukes Armes set upon the Pallace, to the great and inestimable grieve and sorrow of all good men, and the great content of those, who either for ignorance, or wicked mind thereunto consented.

The Duke having gotten the government, intending to take all authoritie from those that were wont to defende the libertie of the Cittie, did forbid the Senators to assemble anie more in the Pallace, and appointed them a private house. Hee tooke also the Ensignes from the Gonfalonieri of companies. Hee remooved the order of justice against the Nobilitie, and delivered the prisoners that had bene committed. Hee called home the Bardi, and Frescobaldi, who had bene banished, and gave generall commandement that no man should weare weapon. Also for his better defence within the Citie, he wanne himselfe forraine friends, and for that purpose pleased the Aretini, and all others under the Florentine government. Hee made peace with the Pisani, notwithstanding hee were created Prince purposely to make warre with them. Hee tooke the obligations from those merchants, that in the warre of Lucca had lent mony to the state. He encreased the old Imposts, and erected new: taking all authoritie from the Senators. The Rettori by him appointed, were Raglione da Perugia, and Guglielmo de Scesi: with whom he joyned, Cerrettieri Bisdomini; and those three men were his onely Councell. The taxes which he imposed upon the Citizens were ex-

Ordinaunces
made by the
Duke of
Athene in
Florence.

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treme, his judgements unjust, and that gravitie and curtesie which he had before fained, was converted into pride, and crueltie. For many citizens both wealthy and noble were condemned, and diverse also by new invented tortures, tormented. Moreover to shew his authoritie in like sort abroad, as it was in the citie, he authorized six Rettori for the country, who oppressed and spoiled the rurall people. He had the great men in suspition, although by them hee had bene pleased: and that some of them by his meanes had bene restored to their Countrey. For hee imagined that such Noble mindes as commonly are in Gentlemen, could not be contented with his government. Hee sought therefore to winne the good will of the people, hoping with their love, and the aide of straungers, to defende his tyrannie.

Then the moneth of May being come, at which time the people were accustomed to make sport and triumph, he caused the companies of the Common people, and basest sort to have Ensignes, and money, with honourable titles to bee given them. Wherupon the one part of them, went from place to place feasting and triumphing: and the other part with great pompe received the triumphers. When fame had dispersed abroad the new principallitie of the Duke, many of the French Nation came unto him. And hee to everie one of them (as men most to be trusted) gave countenance and enterteinment. So that Florence within short space was not onely subject to the French men, but also to their factions and apparrell. Because both men and women, without respect of shame, did followe them. But above all things that displeased, was the violence which he and his, without respect, used to the women. The Citizens lived then with great indignation, seeing the majestie of their state ruined, their ordinances broken, their lawes disannulled, honest life corrupted, and all civill modestie extinguished. For the Citizens, not accustomed to see any regall pompe, could not without sorrow behold the Duke amidst his guardes of armed men, both on foote and horsebacke: for so with their owne shame, they were forced to honour him, whome they most hated. Whereunto might be joyned, the feare and death of many Citizens, and the

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Matteo di
Moroso.

Conspiracy
against the
Duke of
Athene.

continually exactions, wherewith he impoverished, and consumed the citie. All which indignations and feares, were well enough knowne to the Duke, yet would he not be thought to mistrust any thing, but shew himselfe as though he were beloved of all men. For it happened that Matteo di Moroso, either to gratifie him, or acquite himselfe of danger, revealed a conspiracie practised by the house of Medici, and some others.

The Duke enforced therof, did not onely not examine the cause, but also caused Matteo most miserably to be put to death. By which doing, he tooke courage from all those that would tell him anie thing for his good, and encouraged others that went about his ruine. He caused also with great crueltie, the tongue of Bettone Cini to be cut off, who after, therof died. And this punishment was done, because Bettone had found fault with the exactions laid upon the Cittizens. These cruelties encreased offence in the people with their hatred to the Duke, because that citie which was accustomed freely to do and speake all things, could not endure to have their hands tied, and their mouthes closed. These offences and this hatred grew to that ripenesse, as mooved not onely the Florentines, (who could neither maintaine their freedome nor suffer servitude) but even the most servile people of the world, to recover libertie. And therupon many citizens of all estates resolved, with the losse of their lives to recover their libertie lost. Then practised they three sorts of conspiracies, the one among the Nobilitie, the second among the people, the third among the artificers. These conspiracies, besides the general respect, were for particuler reasons willingly taken in hand. The great men desired to recover authoritie. The people were sorrowfull for having lost the government. And the Artificers found their trades and earning of money to be decaied.

At that time Agnolo Acciaivoli, was Archbishop of Florence, who in his Sermons and otherwise, had extolled the actions of the Duke, and done him great favour among the people. But afterwards seeing him Prince, and knowing his tyrannous proceedings, knew how much he had deceived his country: and therefore to make amendes of that faulte, determined, that the hande which had made the wound,

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should also cure it. Wherefore he became head of the first and greatest conspiracie: wherein were the Bardi, Rossi, Frescobaldi, Scali, Altoviti, Malagotti, Strozzi, and Mancini. The chiefe of the second conspiracie, were Manno and Corso Donati, and with them the Pazzi, Cavicciulli, Cherchi, and Albici. The principall of the third conspiracie, was Antonio Adimari, and with him the Medici, Bordini, Rucelai, and Aldobrandini: whose intent was to have slaine the Duke in the house of Albezi, whither (as they thought) he intended to go upon Midsomer day, to behold the running of horses. But thither he went not, and therefore that enterprise became frustrate. Then they ment to assault him walking in the citie; but that seemed hard to do, because he was well accompanied, and alwaies armed, therewith also everie day changed his walke, so as they knew not in what place certaine to wait for him. It was likewise the opinion of some, that the best were to kill him in the Councell: and yet that were hazardous; for though he were slaine, the conspirators should be at the discretion of his forces. During that the conspirators communed of these matters, Anthonio Adimari, discovered the matter to some of his friends of Siena, whose aide hee hoped of, and tolde them the names of some conspirators, saying that the whole Citie was bent to recover libertie. Then one of them imparted his knowledge to Francesco Brunelleschi, not with intent the practise should be laid open, but supposing that hee also had bene of the same conspiracie.

Francesco either for feare of himselfe, or for the hatred he bare towards some other, revealed all to the Duke: and presently Pagolo del Mazecchia, and Simon da Mantezappoli were apprehended; Who detecting the qualitie and quantitie of the conspirators, did thereby much amaze the Duke, and was therefore counselled rather to send for them, then arrest them: For if they fled, then he might without his owne dishonour, by their banishment assure himselfe. The Duke therefore caused Antonio Adimari to be called, who trusting to his companions, presently appeared. Adimari being staied, the Duke was advised by Francescho Brunelleschi, and Uguccione Buondelmonti, to search the Citie, and kill so many as could be taken. But that the Duke thought not good, supposing

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his forces not sufficient to encounter so many enemies, and therefore proceeded an other way, which having taken effect, should both have assured him of the enemies, and also gained him strength. The Duke was accustomed at occasions, to assemble the Citizens, and to take their counsell. Having therefore sent out to assemble the people, he made a bill of three hundreth Citizens names; and caused his Serjeants under colour of counselling with them, to warne them to appeare: and being appeared, he intended either to kill them, or imprison them. The apprehension of Antonio Adimari, and the sending for other Citizens (which could not be secretly done) did greatly dismay every man: but most of all, those that knew themselves guiltie. Insomuch as men of greatest courage would not obey him. And because manie had read the bill, wherin one saw an others name, the one encouraged the other to take armes, and chose rather to die like men, then as Calves to be led to the butchery. By this means within an houre, all the three conspiracies became knowne one unto the other: and determined the day following (which was the twentie sixt of July, in the yeare 1343.) to raise a tumult in the olde Market place: there to arme themselves, and call the people to libertie. The next day, about high noone, according to appointment, everie man tooke armes, and all the people hearing the name of libertie, armed themselves, and everie man in his quarter prepared him under the Ensigne of the peoples armes, which the conspirators had secretly caused to be made. And the chiefe, as well of the Noble houses, as of the populer families, came forth and sware both their owne defence, and the Dukes death, excepting some of the Buondelmonti and Cavalcanti, with those foure families of the people, which procured him to be made Prince. They, together with the Butchers, and people of basest condition, came armed to the Market place in defence of the Duke. At this uproare, the Duke armed all his Court, and his servants in sundrie places lodged, mounted on horsebacke to come to the Market place. But in many streetes they were beaten downe and slaine, and onely three hundred horses came unto him. The Duke in the mean while stood doubtfull, whether he were better to come out and fight

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with his enemies, or defend himselfe within the Pallace. On the other side, the Medici, Cavicculi, Ruccellai, and other families most injured, did feare that if the Duke would come out, manie that had taken armes against him, might happily become his friends. And therefore to remove the occasion of his comming forth, and encreasing his forces, made head, and went up to the market place. At whose arrival, those populer families, that stood there for the Duke, seeing the Cittizens couragiously to charge them, chaunged their mindes.

After the Duke had thus altered his fortune, and everie man revolted to the Citizens, saving Ugucione Buondelmonti, who went into the Pallace: and Giannozzo Cavalcanti with part of his men, retired unto the new Market, and there stood up, desiring the people to arme themselves to defend the Duke. Also the rather to terrifie the people, he threatned them, that if obstinately they followed the enterprise against the Prince, they should be all slaine. But finding no man to follow him, nor yet any that pursued him, and seeing himselfe to have laboured in vain, tempting fortune no further, retired unto his owne house. The conflict in the meane while (betwixt the people and the Dukes souldiers) was great, and though the Dukes forces defended the Pallace, yet were they in the end vanquished: some of them yeelded to their enemies, and some leaving their horses, folowed into the Pallace. While in the Market place the fight continued, Corso and Amerigo Donati, with part of the people brake the prisons, burnt the Records of the Podesta, and of the publique chamber: sacked the Rettori and their houses; and slew all the officers of the Duke, that they could laie hand upon. The Duke on the other side, seeing the Market place lost, and all the citie against him, not hoping of any helpe, made prooffe, whether by any curtuous act the people might be appeased. Therefore he called unto him the prisoners, and with gentle words delivered them, and made Antonio Adimari (though nothing to his owne contentment) a Knight. Hee caused also his owne armes to be rased out of the Pallace, and set the peoples armes in the same place. Which things being done too late and out of time, by enforcement, and without

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order, helped litle. Thus as a man discontented and besieged, he remained in the Pallace; and found by experience, that by coveting too much, he lost all: and therefore looked within fewe dayes, either to die by famine or sword. The Citizens intending some forme of government, assembled themselves in Santa Reparata: and created there foureteene Citizens, halfe of them great, and the other halfe populer, who with the Bishop, should have full authoritie to reforme the state of Florence. They chused also sixe to have the authoritie of the Podesta, till hee were come.

There were in Florence at that time, diverse straungers come thither to aide the people: amongst whom, were some Sanesi sent from Siena, with sixe Embassadors, men in their country much honoured. They betwixt the people and the Duke practised reconsiliation, but the people refused to common of any agreement, untill Guglielmo da Scesi, and his sonne, with Cirretieri Bisdomini were delivered into their hands. The Duke would not thereunto consent, till being threatned by those that were shut in with him, suffered himselfe to be inforced. Certainly the furie is greater, and the harmes more, when libertie is in recovering, then when the same is recovered. This Guglielmo and his sonne, being brought among thousands of enemies, (the yong man not being eightene yeares of age) could neither by his youth nor innocencie be saved from the furie of the multitude. And those that could not strike him alive, would needs wound him being dead. Yea not being satisfied by cutting him in peeces with swords, with their nailes and teeth, they also tare his flesh. And to the end al their sences might have part in the revenge, having already heard him lament, seene his wounds, and touched their torne flesh, would also that their taste should take part, so that all sences both without and within might be pleased. This terrible furie though it were greevous to Guglielmo and his sonne, yet was it profitable to Cirretieri. Because the multitude, being weary with the crueltie executed upon those two, did clearly forget him, remaining still within the Pallace not called for. Then, the night following, by certaine of his friends, hee was conveyed away and saved. The multitude being appeased with blood of these two: A

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conclusion was made, wherein was set downe, that the Duke and his, should safely depart with bagge and baggage, and renounce all his authoritie over Florence. And afterwards, so soone as he should come to Casentino upon the confines, ratifie the same.

After this composition, the sixt day of August he departed from Florence, accompanied with many Citizens. And arrived in Casentino, he ratified (though unwillingly) the resignation of his authoritie: for had he not bene by the Earle Simone threatened to be brought backe to Florence, he would not have performed his promise. This Duke (as his proceedings do shew) was covetous and cruell, no willing hearer of complaints, and in his answeres, haughtie; hee looked for service of all men, and esteemed the love of no man: yet desired he to be beloved, more then feared. His person and presence did deserve to be hated, no lesse then his conditions; his bodie was small, his face blacke and hard favoured, his beard long and thin; so as both in appearance and being, hee merited the love of no man. Thus within the tearme of ten moneths, his evill behaviour lost him that government, which foolish Councell of others had given him. These accidents being happened within the citie, gave encouragement to all the townes which had bene subject to the Florentines, to returne also to their libertie: whereby Arezzo, Castiglione, Pistoja, Volterra, Colle, and S. Gimignano, rebelled.

After the Duke was thus driven away, the foureteene Cittizens, together with the Bishop, thought better to please their subjects with peace, then make them enemies by warre. And therefore seemed as much content with the libertie of them, as with their owne. Then sent they Embassadors to Arezzo, to renounce all their government and interest in that citie, and make a league with the Citizens there. To this end, that sith they could not have their aide as subjects, yet they might have it as friends: with other townes they likewise practised to continue them in friendship. This counsell wisely taken, had happie successe: because Arezzo after a fewe yeares returned under the government of Florence, and the other townes within a fewe moneths came to their auncient obedience. Whereof may be conceived,

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The Duke
of Athene
banished by
the Floren-
tines.

Discription of
the Duke and
his disposi-
tion.

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Florence
againe re-
formed.

The people
of Florence
offended with
the nobilitie.

that many times things fled or not desired, are with lesse perill and smaller charge obtained, then if the same had bene by extreame travell and great force followed. All things thus settled abroad, they turned their studie to deale with matters within: and after some disputations betweene the great and populer Citizens, they agreed that the great men should have a third part in the Senate, and in the other offices the halfe. The citie (as hath bene beforesaid) was divided into six parts, so that one of the Senators was appointed to every sixt part, unlesse upon some accident twelve or thirteene were created: but shortly after they were reduced againe to the number of sixe. It was therefore thought good to reforme the government in this point, as well for the evill distribution of the parts, as because they intended to deliver charge of the gates to the great Cittizens; it was necessarie to encrease the number of the Senators. Therefore the citie was againe divided, into quarters: allotting to everie quarter three Senators, leaving out the Gonfaloniere Della Justitia, and the Gonfalonieri of companies. And in lieu of the twelve Buoni Homini they created eight Councillours, of either sort foure. This government with this order settled, would have continued quiet, if the great citizens had bene content to live with that modestie, that to a civill life appertained: but they followed a course cleane contrarie. For when they were private, they would no companions; and being in authoritie ruled as Lordes. So as everie day some prooffe of their insolencie and pride was seene, which thing greatly displeased the people, supposing that in place of one tyrant sent away, there was growne up a thousand. The insolencie of the one part, and the offence of the other, grew to that greatnesse, that the heads of the people did expostulate unto the Bishop the dishonestie of the great men, who were not by anie meanes content to live like companions and neighbours. And therefore perswaded him to finde meanes that the great Cittizens might be contented with the meane offices: and that the Magistracie of the Senate should be onely left to them.

The Bishoppe was naturally good, but easily perswaded to alter opinion: which was the cause, that by perswasion

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of his companions, he first favoured the Duke of Athene, and shortly after by the counsell of other Citizens conspired against him. So now he seemed in reformation of the state, first to favour the great men, and after to allow better of the people, moved by those reasons, which the populer Citizens had tolde him. He therefore supposing to find as small constancie in others, as in himselfe, perswaded betwixt them a composition. Then he assembled the foureteene, who yet continued in their authoritie, and perswaded them to yeeld the office of Senate to the people, alleading that would be the quiet of the citie, and the deniall, the ruine thereof. These words did greatly chaunge the mindes of the great men, and Ridolpho de Bardi, with bitter words reproved the Bishop, calling him a man not to be trusted: laying before him the friendship which he entered with the Duke unadvisedly, and how he banished him afterwarde, traiterously. And in conclusion he said, that those honours which they with their perill had gotten, with their perill should be defended. Thus being divided from the Bishop, he and his companie tooke leave, and went unto others of their consort, imparting the matter to all the Noble houses in the Cittie. The people likewise brake their mindes to such as were men of their condition. While the great men prepared themselves to the defence of their Senators, the people thought good to be also readie, and suddenly ranne unto the Pallace armed: crying aloud, and requiring that the great Citizens should renounce the Magistracie. The rumour and tumult was great, and the Senators found themselves abandoned: because all the people beeing armed, the great Cittizens durst not take armes, but everie one remained in his owne house. By meane whereof, the new Senators appointed by the people, first appeased the tumult, and then gave knowledge thereof: saying that their companions were modest and good men, and that they were faine, for avoyding a worse inconvenience to take this course, and so sent home the other Senators safe to their houses. The great Citizens thus remooved from the Pallace, the office was also taken away from the foure great Counsellours. In whose place, they appointed twelve of the people, with the eight Senators that remained. They created one Gonfaloniere

The autoritie
of the nobi-
litie, taken
from them.

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Andrea
Strozzi.

The nobilitie
assaie to re-
cover their
honours.

The People
armed against
the nobilitie.

de Justitia, and sixteene Gonfalonieri of the people. They also reformed the Councels, so as, all the government remained at the discretion of the people.

At such time as these things happened, there was great dearth in the citie: by meanes whereof, both great Citizens and the basest sort of people became discontented. These, for hunger, and those for having lost their authoritie: which occasion made Andrea Strozzi to imagine, that it were possible for him to usurpe the libertie of the citie. He perswaded with that imagination, solde his corne much better cheape then others: by meanes whereof, many people resorted unto his house. And one morning hee mounted on horsebacke, being followed by some of them, tooke courage to call the people to armes: which done, within lesse then one houre foure thousand people were assembled; with whom he went to the Senate, desiring the Pallace might be opened for him. But the Senators with threatnings and force, sent him from thence, and after with proclamations so terrified him, that by litle and litle everie man returned to his house. So as Andrea being left alone, could scantly flie and save himselfe from the Magistrates. This attempt, although it were unadvised, and had such successe, as commonly all others like thereunto have, yet did the same give hope unto the Nobilitie, that they might easily oppresse the people, seeing the poorest sort misliked them. For not loosing this opportunity, they determined to arme themselves with all sorts of aide, and recover that reasonably, which unjustly and by force, had bene taken from them. The assured hope they had conceived of successe in this enterprise, grew so great, that openly they provided armes, fortified their houses, and sent to their friends in Lombardy. The people on the other side, together with the Senate, made their provision, and arming them, sent to the Sanesi and Perugini for aide. The assistaunce of the one, and the other beeing come, all the Cittie was in Armes, and the Nobilitie made head on this side Arno in three places. At the houses of Cavicciulli neare to S. Giovanni: at the houses of the Pazzi and Donati, in S. Piero Maggiore: and at the houses of the Cavalcanti in the newe Market. The others beyonde Arno, fortified the bridges and streetes next to their houses. The

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Nerli at the bridge Caraia; The Frescobaldi and Mannelli, at S. Trinita. The Rossi and Bardi, at the olde bridge; and the bridge Rubaconte defended themselves. The people on the other part, under the Gonfaloniere della Justitia, and the Ensignes of companies assembled themselves.

Being thus prepared, the people thought good no longer to delaie the fight. The first that gave the charge were the Medici and the Rondinegli, who assaulted the Cavicciulli, in that way which leadeth from the Court before S. Giovanni to their houses. There the conflict was great, by reason that from the Towers stones were cast downe to the harme of many, and below others with Crosse-bowes were sore hurt. This fight continued three houres, and still the people encreased. Then the Cavicciulli seeing themselves by the multitude overmatched, and wanting aide, yeelled to the people: who saved their houses and their goods, and tooke from them onely their weapons, commanding them to divide themselves, and remaine in the houses of such Commoners as were their kinsfolks and friends. This first troupe vanquished the Donati and the Pazzi, who being of lesse force were easily subdued. Then remained only on this side Arno, the Cavalcanti, who by men and the seat of the place were strong. Neverthelesse seeing all the Gonfalonieri against them, and knowing the others to have bene by three Gonfaloni vanquished without any great resistance yeelled. Thus were three parts of the Cittie in the hands of the people, one part more remained to the Nobilitie: which was hard to be wonne, by reason of the strength of them which defended it, and the seat of the place, it being so fortified with the river of Arno, that the bridges must first of force be surprised, which were defended in that sort as is before-said. The people then knowing that there they laboured in vaine, assaied to passe the bridge Rubaconte: where finding the like difficultie, they left for guard of those two bridges, foure Gonfaloni; and with the rest assaulted the bridge Caraia. Where albeit the Nerli manfully defended themselves, yet could they not withstand the furie of the people. Both because the bridge wanting towers of defence, was weak, and the Capponi with other populer families also assailed them. In so much as being on every side distressed,

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they retired and gave place to the people; who forthwith likewise vanquished the Rosci: by reason that all the people on the farre side of Arno joyned with the victorious. Then the Bardi were onely left, whom neither the overthrow of others, nor the uniting of the people against them, (nor the small hope they had of rescue) could any whit amaze: for they did choose rather to die fighting, see their houses burnt, and their goods spoyled, then voluntarily submit themselves to the mercie of their enemies. They therefore defended themselves with so great resolution, that the people many times in vaine assaulted them, both upon the old bridge, and upon Rubaconte: and were with death of many, and the hurting of more, repulsed.

There was in times past a lane, whereby men passed from the way that leadeth towards Rome, by the house of the Pitti, to go unto S. Giorgio. By this way the people sent six Gonfalonieri, with commandement to assault the back-side of the house of Bardi. That assault made the Bardi to loose their hope, and occasioned the people to assure themselves of victorie: for so soone as those who defended the streetes knew their houses were assaulted, they abandoned the fight, and ranne to save them. This was the cause that the chaine of the old bridge was lost, and that the Bardi on everie side fled: who were by the Quaratesi Panzanesi, and Mozzi encountred. The people in the meane while (chiefly those of basest qualitie) being greedie of spoyle, sacked their houses, razed their Towers and burned them, with so great furie, that even he that is most foe to the Florentine name, would have bene ashamed to behold so great a crueltie. The Nobilitie thus oppressed, the people ordained a government. And because the Cittizens were divided into three sorts, that is to say, great men, meane men, and base men. It was ordered that of the great men there should be two Senators, of the meane men three, and of the basest men three. Also the Gonfalonieri should sometime be of the one, and sometime of the other sort. Moreover the ordinances of Justice, against the Nobilitie were confirmed. And to make the Nobilitie weaker, they tooke some of that number, and mixed them with the populer multitude. This ruine of the Nobilitie was great, and so much weakened

The Nobilitie
oppressed.

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their faction, as after that time they durst never take armes against the people: but continually remained poore and abject of minde; which was the occasion that Florence became spoyled, not onely of armes, but also of all generositie. After this ruine, the citie continued quiet, till the yeare 1353. In which time, happened that memorable plague (whereof Giovan Boccacio with great eloquence) hath written. Of which died in Florence, 96 thousand persons. The Florentines made then the first warre with the Visconti, occasioned by the ambition of the Archbishop, then Prince of Milan. That warre being ended, beganne suddenly new factions within the Citie. And albeit the Nobilitie was destroyed, yet fortune found meanes to raise up new divisions, and new troubles.

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THE greivous and naturall enimities betwixt the people, and Nobilitie, through desire of the one to commaund, and the other, not to obey: are causes of all evils, which happen in everie citie. For of the diversitie of these humours, all other things which disturbe Common weales doo take their nutriment. This was that which held Rome disunited. And this (if we may compare small matters to great) was that which continued Florence divided. Notwithstanding, in those two cities, the divisions, did bring forth two sundrie effects. For the enimitie of the people and Nobilitie in Rome, was at the beginning ended by disputation: but the division of the people and Nobilitie of Florence, was with sword and slaughter determined. That of Rome by lawe; but that of Florence by exile, and death of many Citizens was ended. That of Rome did alwaies encrease the vertue militarie, but that of Florence, utterly extinguished the same. That of Rome, from an equalitie of the Citizens, to a great disequalitie, reduced the citie: but that of Florence, from disequalitie, to a marvellous equalitie was changed. Which diversitie of effects, must of force be occasioned, by the diverse ends, which these two people had. For the people of Rome, desired not more, then to participate the soveraigne honours with the Nobilitie, but they of Florence would be alone, and governe all without companie of the Nobilitie. And for as much as the desire of the Romane people was more reasonable, the offences done to the Nobilitie became the more tollerable. By meane whereof, that Nobilitie, without resistance gave place: and after

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some disputation, a lawe was made to the peoples satisfaction, they being content that the Nobilitie should continue their dignities. On the other side, the desire of the Florentine people was injurious and unjust; by reason whereof, the Nobilitie prepared themselves for defence, and without banishment and blood of the Cittizens, their contentions were not ended. Also those lawes which were afterwards made, not for the common commoditie, but altogether in favour of the people, were ordeined. Thereof proceeded likewise, that by victories of the people, the citie of Rome became more vertuous. Also the people having sometime authoritie in the warres, and commaundement in government with the Nobilitie, were indowed with like vertue, and caused that citie by encrease of vertue in men, to encrease also in power. But in Florence, the people having victorie, the Nobilitie were deprived of Magistracie, and being desirous to recover it, it behoved them by their behaviour and manner of life, to endeavour themselves, not onely to seeme, but also to be men populer. Heereof, came the alteration of Ensignes, and the chaunge of titles, which the Nobilitie (to seeme common people) were constrained to make. So as that vertue in armes and generositie of minde, which had bene in the Nobilitie, was extinguished; and could not be revived in the people, where it was not: which is the cause that Florence ever after became the more abject. And as Rome knowing the vertue of it self grew to such pride, as without a Prince could not be maintained: so Florence was reduced to such termes, as every wise law maker might have brought the same to any order or forme of government: as by reading of the former booke may partly be perceived.

Now having already shewed the beginning of Florence, and the original of the liberty therin, with the occasions of division: and how the factions of the nobilitie and of the people, with the tyrannie of the Duke of Athene, did end: and lastly how the Nobilitie were destroyed. It remaineth to discourse the enimitie betwixt the people and the multitude, with such accidents as of those divisions proceeded. So soone as the authoritie of the Nobilitie was oppressed, and the warre with the Arch-Duke of Milan finished; it seemed that no occasion of displeasure or offence, remained

The enimitie
betweene the
people and the
multitude.

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The faction or
division of
Albizi and
Ricci.

in Florence. But the froward fortune of our Cittie, and the evill orders thereof, caused newe dissention to arise, betwixt the families of Albizi and Ricci : which divided Florence, as by the Buondelmonti and the Uberti, and as by the Donati and Circhi it had before beene divided. The Popes, who at that time remained in Fraunce, and the Emperours in Germany, to maintaine their reputation in Italy, sent thither at sundrie times, sundrie multitudes of souldiers, English men, Germanes, and Brittaines. They, (the warres ended) beeing without paie and entertainment, sometime under the Ensigne of one Prince, and sometimes under an other, spoyled the Countrey. In the yeare 1353, one of those companies came into Toscana, under the conduct of Monsigneur Reale, whose comming amazed all the Citties of that Province. And the Florentines did not onelie in that respect publicly levie forces, but also diverse private Cittizens. Amongest whome, the Albizi and Ricci, for their owne defence, Armed themselves. These two houses hating one the other, studied howe they might one oppresse the other : yet were they not come to Armes, but onely contended in the government, and in Councell. The Cittie then upon this occasion armed, there happened by chaunce a quarrell in the olde Market : whither many people (as is at like occasions the custome) resorted. During the brunt of this brute, newes were brought to the Ricci, that the Albizi assailed them. And in like maner it was tolde to the Albizi, that the Ricci sought for them. Upon these rumours, all the citie arose, and the Magistrates could with difficultie hold backe the one and the other of these families, from dooing of that violence, which without any fault or intent of theirs, was occasioned. This chance (though of no importance) somewhat kindled the minds of those gentlemen, and every of them were the rather desirous to allure partakers. And forasmuch as by the ruin of the nobilitie, the Citizens were reduced to such an equalitie, that the magistrates had more reverence then they were wont, either of them determined by ordinary meane, and without private violence to oppresse his adversary.

We have already tolde, how after the victory of Carlo the first, the Guelfi were created Magistrates, and to them great authoritie given over the Ghibilini. Notwithstanding

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through tract of time and new divisions, that law became so much neglected, that many descended of Ghibilini, aspired to the most principall offices. Uguccione de Ricci then chiefe of his family, found meane, that the law against the Ghibilini was revived: of which faction (as some thought) the Albizi were, who many yeares past did come from Arezzo to inhabit Florence. Upon reviving of this law, Uguccione hoped to deprive the Albizi of authoritie, because thereby it was ordeined, that whosoever was descended of the Ghibilini, should not in any wise beare office in the state. This practise of Uguccione was discovered to Piero sonne of Philipppo degli Albizi, who determined to favour it, least doing the contrarie, he should declare himselfe a Ghibiline. This lawe although renewed by ambition of the Ricci, yet did it not diminish, but encrease the reputation of the Albizi, and was the originall of many mischiefs. Neither can any lawe be made more prejudiciall to a Common weale, then that which hath relation to time, long since passed.

Piero having thus consented to the law, that, which his enemies had devised for a let, was the high way to lead him to his greatnesse. For being made as chiefe of this new ordinance, he still encreased in reputation, and became more favoured of the Guelfi, then any other. And for as much as there was no Magistrate appointed for discoverie of the Ghibilini, the lawe alreadie made, served to small purpose. It was therefore provided that authoritie should be given to the Captaines, to detect those that were of faction Ghibilini, and finding them, to give admonishment that they should not take upon them any office in the state: Or if they should disobey the said admonishment, then to be condemned. Hereof it commeth, that since that time, all those that be disabled to beare office in Florence, be called Ammoniti. The captains then by this authority grew to be so insolent, as they did not only admonish those that deserved admonition, but also every man, whomsoever it pleased them, being thereto moved by any cause whatsoever, either of covetousnesse or ambition. So that, from the yeare 1357 (at which time this ordinance was made) til the yeare 1366 more then two hundreth Citizens were

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A new lawe
against the
Ghibilini
occationed
by a privie
respect.

Ammoniti.

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admonished. By this mean, the Captaines, and faction of Guelfi were become mightie, because every man fearing to be admonished, honoured them. The chief of them were, Piero delli Albizi, Lapo da Castiglionchio, and Piero Strozzi. And albeit this insolent order of proceeding displeased many, yet the Ricci were of all other most discontented. For they supposing themselves to be the occasion of this disorder, saw the common weale ruined, and the Albizi their enemies, contrary to expectation, become of most authoritie. Wherefore Uguccone de Ricci, being one of the Senate, desired to staie this mischiefe, wherof he and his friends were the beginners: and by a new law he provided, that the six captains should be encreased to the number of nine, of whom, two should be of the smal misteries. And ordeined moreover, that the detection of the Ghibilini, should be by 24 Citizens of the faction of Guelfi confirmed. This ordinance for the time, qualified the authoritie of the Captaines, so as the admonishment grew colde. And if anie happened to be admonished, they were not manie. Notwithstanding, the factions of Albizi and Ricci, continued: and the leagues, practises, and resolutions, devised in hatred one of the other, did proceed. In this unquietnesse, the citie lived from the yeare 1366 till 1371. In which time the Guelfi recovered their forces.

There was in the family of Buondelmonti, one Gentleman called Benchi, who for his merit, in the warre against the Pisani, was made one of the people, and thereby become capable of the office of the Senate. And when he looked to be chosen to that honour, a lawe was made, that no Gentleman become one of the people, might exercise the office of the Senate. This greatly offended Benchi, wherefore consulting with Piero delli Albizi, determined with the admonition to oppresse the meaner sort of the people, and the rest alone to enjoy the government. Then through the favour which Benchi had with the olde Nobilitie, and through the affection of manie of moste mightie people borne to Piero, the faction of Guelfi recovered some force: and with new reformation, they handled the matter so, that they might both of the Captaines and the twentie foure Cittizens, dispose as themselves thought good. Where-

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uppon they returned to admonish more boldlie then they were woont and the house of Albizi, as head of this secte, still encreased. On the other side, the Ricci failed not by their owne force and friendes to hinder their enterprises all they were able, so that all men lived in suspition, and everie one mistrusted his owne ruine. For which cause, manie Cittizens mooved with the love of their Countrey, assembled themselves in Saint Pietro Sceraggio, and reasoning of these disorders, went to the Senators: unto whome one of most authoritie spake thus.

Wee have (my Lordes) doubted (although for a publike occasion) to assemble our selves by private consent, fearing to be noted for presumptuous, or condemned as ambitious. Yet considering that everie day (without respect) manie Cittizens conferre both in the streetes and in their houses, not for anie common commoditie, but their owne ambition: we do hope, that as they have come togethers for the ruine of the Common weale, so it shall not be offensive, that we consult by what meane the same might be preserved: Neither is there cause why we should regard them, seeing they of us, make none estimation at all. The love (my Lordes) which we beare to our Countrey, did first bring us together, and the same also hath ledde us hither to intreate of these inconveniences, which are now great, and daily encrease in this our Common weale. In the redresse whereof, we offer our selves to assist you. And (albeit the enterprise do seeme hard) yet may it be performed, if it shall like your Lordships to laie by all private respects, and with publike forces imploy your authorities. The common corruption of other Citties of Italy, doth also corrupt ours. For sith this Province was drawne under the Empire, all Cities (wanting Governours able to rule them) have governed themselves: not as free, but as townes into sects and faction, divided. Out of this, be sprung up al other discords that are to be found. First, among the Citizens, there is neither union, nor friendship, but onely among such, as have against their countrey or private persons, conspired some lewde enterprise. Also, bicause religion and feare of God is in every man almost extinguished, othes and faith given, are none obligations equall to profit, which all men covet. Yet do they

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of the citti-
zens touching
factions.

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stil use both promising and othes, not to observe them, but the rather to deceive those, that trust them. And the more easily and safely they can deceive, the more they account their praise and glory. For this reason, hurtfull men be commended as industrious, and good men blamed as foolish. Yea, I assure my selfe, that all corruption, or that can corrupt others, is to be found in the cities of Italy. The young men are idle, old men wanton, every sects, and every age full of lewde conditions: which good lawes, being evil used, do not amend. Hereof the covetousnes which we see in Citizens, and the desire, not of true glory, but of shamefull honors, do proceed: whereupon depend hatred, enmitie, displeasures, and sects. Also of them do follow murders, banishments, persecution of the good, and advancement of the evill. For good men trusting in their owne innocencie do not (as evil men) seeke extraordinary defence. Whereby unsupported and dishonoured, they are suffered to sinke. This example occasioneth love of the factions, and their forces: because the worst sort for covetousnesse and ambition, and the best for necessitie, do follow them. It is also worthie consideration (as that which is more perillous) to see how the leaders of these enterprises do colour their lewdnesse with some honest or godly tearme. For (albeit they are all enemies to libertie) yet under the word *Ottimacy*, or popularitie, they cloake their evill intent. Because the rewarde which they aspect of victorie, is not glorie, by having delivered the Cittie, but the satisfaction they take to be victorious, and usurpe the government thereof. Where-with allured, there is nothing so unjust, nothing so cruell, or covetous, that they leave unattempted. Hereof it proceedeth, that lawes, and statutes, not for the common, but the private profit, be made. Hereof it proceedeth, that warre, peace, and leagues, not for publike glory, but for the pleasure of a few, are contracted. And albeit some other Cities be touched with these disorders, yet none so fowly infected as ours. Because the lawes, the statutes, and civil ordinances, not according to a life in libertie, but according to desire of the faction victorious, have bene, and yet are, ordeined; which is the cause that ever one faction driven out, or one division extinguished, sodeinly ariseth an other.

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For that citie which is mainteined more by faction, then law, so soone as anie faction hath gotten the over hand, and is without opposition: it must of force be, that the same becommeth in it selfe divided. For by those private meanes which were made for preservation therof, it cannot be defended: which to be true, the ancient, and moderne divisions of our citie do make triall. Everie man thought that the Ghibilini extirped, the Guelfi should ever have continued in honour. Notwithstanding within short time, the Bianchi and Neri arose. The Bianchi vanquished, our citie continued not long without partes, but was sometimes troubled with favouring those that were banished, and somtimes with the enmitie betwixt the people, and nobilitie. Yea, at length (giving that to others, which by accord either we would not or could not possesse our selves) sometimes to the King Roberto, sometimes to his brother, and last of all to the Duke of Athene, we yeelded our libertie. And in troth we never settled our selves in any estate, as men, that could not consent to live free, nor be willing to obey: neither feared we living under a King (so greatly are our orders disposed to division) to preferre before his majestie, a man of most base condition, born in Agobio. The Duke of Athene may not without shame of this citie be remembered: whose bitter and cruel mind might make us wise, and instruct us how to live. But he being sent away, we suddeinly tooke armes in hand, and with more malice and fury, fought among our selves, til all our auncient nobilitie were oppressed and left at the peoples discretion. Then was it thought by many, that never for any occasion it were possible to stir up new troubles or factions in Florence, they being cast down, whose pride and unsupportable ambition was the cause thereof. Yet is it now seene by experience, how easily the opinion of men is deceived. For the ambition and pride of the nobilitie was not quenched, but removed into the people: who now (according to the custome of ambitious men) hope to aspire to the most soveraigne offices. And not wanting other meane to usurpe the same, they moved new discords, and new divisions in the citie, raising up the name of Guelfi and Ghibilini, which, (had they never bene knowne) should have made our country

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the more happie. Besides that, (to the end in this world should be nothing in continuance or quietnes) Fortune hath provided, that in every state, there should be certaine fatall families, borne, and destined, to the destruction thereof. Of these, our Common weale hath bene more then anie other, replenished. For not one, but many of them have disturbed the quiet therof. As, first of all the Buondelmonti and Uberti; then the Donati and Circhi. And even now (a shamefull and ridiculous matter) the Ricci and Albizi do trouble and divide our Citie. We have not remembred you of those corrupt customes, and our continuall division, to dismay you, but call to your minds the occasions of them, and enforme you, that the example of those, should not make you to dispaire the reformation of these. Because the power of these auncient houses was so great, and the favour that Princes did beare towards them so much, that the lawes and civill ordinances were not of force sufficient to hold them in quiet and due obedience. But now the Empire having no force, the Pope not feared, and that all Italy, and this Citie also, is reduced to so great equalitie, as may by it self be governed, the difficultie cannot be much. And this our common weale (notwithstanding the ancient examples to the contrary) may not only be brought to union, but also in good customs and civil orders be reformed, if your lordships be disposed to do it. Wherunto, we moved with the love of our country, and no private passion, do persuade you. And albeit the corruption thereof be great, yet allaie that disease which infecteth, that furie which consumeth, that poyson that killeth: and impute the auncient disorders not to the nature of men, but the time: which being changed, it may hope, that by meane of new orders, new fortune will follow, whose frowardnesse may be by wisdom governed, in putting a bridle upon the ambitious, disanulling such ordinances, as were nourishers of factions, and using those that to a civill life and libertie, are agreeable. Be ye also pleased to do this by vertue of lawe, rather now, then deferre the same, till such time, as by armes you shall be enforced thereunto.

The Senators moved with these reasons, which themselves had before considered, and thereunto adding the authoritie,

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and comfort of the men, gave commission to fiftie sixe Citizens, to provide for the safetie of the Common weale. True it is, that the counsell of many is more fit to conserve a good order, then to invent it. These Citizens then studied rather to extirpate the present factions, then take away the occasion of future division. In so much, as neither the one or the other, was brought to passe: because not removing the occasions of new division, and the one part of those factions which were present, being of greater force then the other, became the more perillous to the state. Wherefore, out of everie office (excepting those that were in the handes of the Guelfi) for three yeares they deprived three men of the families of Albizi, and three of the house of Ricci: amongst whom, were Piero delli Albizi, and Ugucione dei Ricci. They prohibited all Citizens to come into the Pallace, saving at such times as the Magistrates sate there. They provided, that who ever was stricken, or letted to possesse his owne, might call his adversarie to the Counsels, and protest him for one of the Nobilitie. These ordinances discouraged the Ricci, and incouraged the Albizi. For although they were equally noted, yet the Ricci were the more injured. And albeit the Pallace of the Senate was forbidden to Piero, yet the counsell house of the Guelfi (where he had great authoritie) was open for him. Therefore if he and his followers were at the first earnest in admonishing, now after this injurie, they became much more earnest: and to that evil disposition, new occasions were joyned.

New reformation in Florence.

At this time Gregorio II. was aspired to the Papacie, who Pope Gregorio. living at Avignon, did (as his predecessors) governe Italy by Legates. They being men inclined to pride and covetousnesse, had thereby greatly afflicted many Cities. One of these Legates being in Bologna, taking occasion of the dearth which happened that yeare in Florence, determined to make himselfe Lord of Toscana. And therefore he not onely withheld from the Florentines, present reliefe, (but also to remove all hope of future provision) at the beginning of the next spring, with a great Army, entered their Countrey: imagining the people (disarmed and famished) might be easily conquered. And happily the

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A new Commission for the government of war.

enterprise had taken effect, if the souldiers that served him, had bene faithfull and not corruptible. For the Florentines not having other remedie, gave unto them 130 thousand Florins, and for that mony the souldiers abandoned the enterprise. To begin a warre, is in the power of everie man, but to end a warre, no man can, when himselfe so liketh. This warre by the ambition of the Legate begun, was by the offence of the Florentines followed. For the better execution thereof, they made league with Barnabo, and with all the cities enemies to the church; and elected eight Citizens to govern the said war: unto whom authoritie was given, to proceed without appeale, and spend without account. This warre begun against the Pope (notwithstanding the death of Uguccone) encouraged those that followed the faction of Ricci, and had against the Albizi alwaies favoured Barnabo, and disfavoured the church: and the more, for that the eight were all foes to the faction of Guelfi: which was the reason that Piero delli Albizi, Lapo di Castiglionichio, Carlo Strozzi, and the rest, diverse times joyned, to the offence of the adversarie. And while the eight made warre, and they admonished, the warre continued three yeares, and by death of the Pope was ended. This warre was with so universall satisfaction, and so great vertue governed, that the office of the eight, was from yeare to yeare continued in those men, and they were called Santi, notwithstanding they litle regarded the Popes curses, spoiled churches, and forced the Clergie. Thus without respect, they preferred the service of their country before the Popes indignation. And thereby taught the church, that as being friend thereunto, they had defended it, so being enemies, they were able to annoy it, having procured all Romagna, La Marca, and Perugia, to rebell. But notwithstanding all these warres made by the Florentines against the Pope, yet could they not defende themselves from the Captaines of their owne factions and their followers. For, the envie which the Guelfi bare unto the eight, made them to become insolent, and though they spared the rest of the Nobilitie, yet rested they not to injure the eight. Also the Captaines of factions, were growne up to so great arrogancie, as they were more

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favoured then the Senators, and men with more reverence resorted to their houses, then to the Pallace. In so much as everie Embassadour that came to Florence, brought with him some commission or instruction to entreate with these Capitaines.

Then died Pope Gregorio, whereby the citie being delivered of forreine warre, presently begun great confusion at home. For on the one side, the insolencie of the Guelfi was insupportable, and on the other side, no meane could be devised to oppresse them. Onely this hope was left, that everie man should take armes, and so make triall whether partie should prevaile. On the part of the Guelfi, were all the old Nobilitie, with the greater number of the mightiest people: of whom (as hath bene declared) Lapo, Piero, and Carlo were the chiefe. On the other side, were all the people of least reputation, who had for Leaders, the eight Governours of warre, Georgio Scali, Tomazo Strozzi, and with them the Ricci, Alberti, and Medici. The rest of the multitude (as in like cases it ever happeneth) joyned to the partie discontented. It seemed then to the Guelfi, that the forces of their adversaries were great, and therefore themselves in much daunger, whensoever any unfriendly Senate should happen to be chosen. Therefore thought good for the preventing of that mischiefe, to assemble themselves in some place convenient, where they might consult of the state of that Citie. For it seemed that the Citizens admonished, being in number growne great, the most part of the Citie were their foes. Whereto they could not devise other remedie, but as they had taken from them the honours, so also to banish them the Citie, take the Pallace by force, and reduce all the state, to the order wherunto it was by the auncient Guelfi reduced: who lived not secure for any other reason, but onely because they had driven out all their adversaries. To this plot everie man consented, but of the time of execution, they discented.

New tumults
in Florence.

The yeare 1378 being come, in the moneth of Aprill, Lapo thought good not to deferre the time saying, there was nothing that hindred time so much, as time: and then specially because in the next Senate, Salvestro de Medici was likely to be chosen Gonfaloniere, whom to their faction

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they knew most contrary. Piero delli Albizi thought otherwise, for his opinion was it should be deferred, because the execution of their intent required forces, which without publishing of the matter could not be levied, and if the matter were discovered, they should thereby incurre manifest daunger. His opinion therefore was, it should be delaied till the feast of S. John (then at hand :) at which time, many people would resort to the towne, among whome they might convey in unknowne, as many friendes as they thought good. Moreover, to finde meanes how to prevent the election of Salvestro, it was thought fit to admonish him : and if that devise seemed not good, then to put into the election an other also of the same quarter. So as, it might fall out, that in steed of him, some other of his companions should be chosen. This cause was set downe as a resolution, (notwithstanding that Lapo unwillingly thereunto, consented) judging, delaie was dangerous, and that no time can be in everie respect fit for execution. For whosoever tarrieth all opportunities, either he shall never performe any thing, or if he doth, the same (for the most part) falleth out to his disadvantage. The Colledge was warned, and Salvestro not repulsed, but chosen Gonfaloniere : for the eight having discovered the practise, found meanes to prevent that which was looked for. Thus Salvestro sonne of Alemanno di Medici, who being of a verie noble populer house, could not endure that the people should be by a few great men oppressed. And having devised how to end their insolencie, seeing the people favoured that enterprise, he did communicate his intent to Benedetto Alberti, Tomazo Strozzi, and Georgio Scali : and they promised to bring him all the aide they possibly could. Then was there a law secretly established, wherby the ordinances of justice against the great men were renewed : and the authoritie of Captains was diminished. The same also, restored power to the admonished, to have restitution of their dignities. And because (as it were at one instant) they intended both to propound and obteine, having first to passe the Colledge, and after to determine in the Councels, finding Salvestro President (which place in those dayes, for the time being, made him be placed as Prince of the Citie) they caused the

The Conspira-
cy revealed.

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Colledge and Councell in one selfe morning to be assembled. And first to the Colledge onely, they propounded the lawe made, which as a new thing was by that small number rejected. Whereby Salvestro, seeing his wings clipped, wherewith he hoped to ascend to his desire, fained for his necessitie to depart the place; and contrarie to expectation, went to the Councell: and standing up where he might be both seen and heard of everie man, said: He thought himselfe made Gonfaloniere, not to determine of private causes, (which have their ordinary Judges) but to attend the state, correct the insolencie of the great men, and qualifie the rigor of those lawes, which were found by prooffe to hinder the Common weale. And albeit he had with diligence travelled in these matters, and to his power prevented all inconveniences, yet the sinister disposition of men, so greatly opposed it selfe to his just indeavour, that the way of well doing was stopped: and their intent was altered, not onely from determining well, but also from hearing thereof. Wherefore, seeing that he could not do anie thing more for the state, or the common commoditie, he knew not to what end he should continue longer in that office, which either he deserved not, or (as it was thought of others) he would not hereafter deserve. For these respects he intended to retire home, to the end the people might put in his roome, some other of more vertue, or greater fortune.

The speech of
Salvestro di
Medici.

This speech ended, he departed from the Councell towards his house, such as were in the Councell his friends, with some others also desirous of Innovation, began to murmure. Then the Senators and Colledges drew neare, and finding their Gonfalone departing, by entreatie, and authoritie staid him, and into the Councell, (being full of tumult) perswaded him to returne, where many noble Citizens were with words most injurious, threatned. Among whom, Carlo Strozzi, was by an Artificer taken by the bozome, and had bene slaine, if the standers by had not saved him. But that which stirred the greatest tumult, and put the citie in armes, was the motion of Benedetto Alberti, who from the window of the Pallace, cried aloude to the people to take armes. Wherupon sodeinly all the Court was full of

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armed men. By that mean, the Colledges were forced by threatnings and feare, to do that which being desired they would not.

In the meane time, the Captaines of the factions had assembled many Citizens, and consulted how to defend them against the order of the Senators. But so soone as they heard the rumour appeased, and understood what was by the Councell resolved, everie man fled to his owne house. For there is no man that moveth any alteration in a Citie, that knoweth how either to worke it at his owne wil, or suppress it, at his pleasure. It was the intent of Salvestro to create a law, and appease the Citie: but the matter fell out contrarie. For the humours moved, had chaunged everie man so much, that the shoppes were shut up, Citizens were assailed at their houses, many conveyed their goods to Monasteries, and hid them in Churches, as though everie one looked for some miserie at hand. The companies of misteries assembled, and everie misterie elected a Sindaco. Then the Priori called their Colledges, and the Sindachi consulted with them, how the Citie might be made quiet, but their opinions being diverse, nothing was determined. The next day following, the misteries drew forth their Ensignes, which the Senators knowing, and doubting that which happened; called the Councels to put order: but ere they were all assembled, a tumult was begun, and presently the Ensignes were come out, followed by armed men to the Pallace. Thereupon the Councell to give hope of contentation to the misteries and the people, and take from them the occasion of suspition, gave generall authoritie to the Senate, the Colledges, the Eight, the Captaines of parts, and the Sindachi, to reforme the Cittie, for common commoditie thereof.

While these matters were in hand, certaine of the Ensignes of misteries, with others of lesse qualitie (thereby moved by some that desired revenge of the last injuries received of the Guelfi) shrunke away from the rest, and went unto the house of Lapo di Castiglionichio, sacking and burning the same. He hearing that the Senate had done an enterprise contrarie to order taken by the Guelfi, and seeing the people in armes, having no other remedie,

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but either hide himselfe or flie ; first hid him in Santa Croce, and after in the habit of a Frier fled into Casentino : where he was heard complaine of himselfe, for consenting to Piero delli Albizi ; and of Piero, for that he would needs deferre to assure the state, till the feast of S. Giovanni. But Piero and Carlo Strozzi, at the beginning of the uprore hid themselves, thinking that the brunt past, their friends and kinsfolkes were of force sufficient to continue them secure in Florence. The house of Lapo being sacked (because mischiefes are hardly begunne, and easily increased) many other houses (some for hate universall, and others by private displeasure) were also spoiled and burned. And the ministers of these mischiefes, to make their companie the more forcible, for the spoyling of other mens goods, brake the Gayles, and let forth the prisoners. They also sacked the Monasterie of Agnoli and S. Spirito, where many Citizens had bestowed their goods. Neither had the publike chamber of Florence escaped the hands of these disordered spoylers, if one of the Senators had not taken upon him the defence thereof ; who on horsebacke followed with some armed men, resisted the furie of the multitude. This populer madnesse, partly by mediation of the Senate, and partly for that the night drew on, was appeased. The next day, the Balia restored favour to the Citizens admonished, with condition that within the next three yeares, they should not be capable to exercise any office. They also disanulled the lawes made by the Guelfi, in prejudice of the Citizens. They proclaimed Lapo di Castiglionichio, and his companions Rebels, and with them diverse others hated of the multitude.

New reformation in Florence.

After these resolutions, they published new Senators, among whom Luigi Guicciardini was Gonfaloniere : whereby hope was conceived, that all tumults wold cease, because they were holden quiet men and lovers of peace. Notwithstanding the shops were kept shut, the Citizens still armed, and great watches throughout the citie charged. For which cause the Senators received not their office without the Pallace with the pompe accustomed, but within, not using any ceremonie at all. These Senators thought nothing so necessarie to be done at their entry into office, as to procure

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a peace in the citie, and therfore caused al armes to be laide downe, the shops to be opened, and the people of the countrey (called thither in the favour of Citizens) to be dispatched away. They ordeined Guards in many places of the citie: so as if the Citizens admonished, could have lived content, the people had bene quiet. But they not willing to abide three yeares from honour, did finde meane, that for their satisfaction, the misteries againe assembled, and demanded of the Senate, that for the good of the citie and quiet thereof, no Cittizen might any more be admonished as a Ghibiline, either by the Senators, the Colledge, Captaine, or Consull. Moreover, they required new Imborsation to be made of the Guelfi, and the old to be burned. These demands were presently accepted, both by the Senate, and all other Councels: because thereupon it was supposed, all newe tumults would cease. But mans nature doth not onely content it selfe with his owne, but will also covet other mens, and be revenged. Those that hoped in the disorder, declared to the misteries that they should never be assured, unlesse many of their enemies were driven out, and oppressed. Which request being presented, the Senators called before them, the officers of misteries, and the Sindachi, to whom Luigi Guicciardini Gonfaloniere spake in manner following.

The Oration
of Luigi
Guicciardini.

If these Lordes, and I also, had not knowne the fortune of this cittie, the custome whereof is, that so soone as it hath made peace abroad, the warre within beginneth: we would have more marvelled at the tumults passed, and therewith have bene more grieved. But because things accustomed, do bring with them lesse sorrow, we have endured these troubles with great patience, and the rather, for that they were begun, without any our default, and shall (we hope) end, as all others before have done, sith we have alreadye, in so many, and so great demands, satisfied you. Neverthelesse perceiving that you never rest contented, but still with new injuries seeke to disturbe your Citizens, and condemne them to newe banishments: of your dishonest dealings, our greevous sorrow groweth. And truly, if we had thought, that within the tearme of our government, this citie should have bene so troubled, we would either

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by voluntary or violent exile, have shunned these honors. But hoping to deale with men, in whom remained curtesie and love to their country, we willingly received these offices, beleaving our clemencie should have suppressed your ambition. But, we now see by experience, that the more mildly we beare our selves towards you, the more proud ye are, and the more dishonest requests ye demand at our hands. This plainnesse of speech we use, not to offend you, but to remember you, for our meaning is, that others shall speake that which pleaseth you, and we that which is best for you. Tell us (we pray you) what is that, you can honestly more require at our hands? You required that the authoritie should be taken from the captains of factions, and so it was. You desired the Imborsations should be burnt and new reformation made, to that we consented. You demanded the restitution of the admonished Citizens to their honors; and they were restored. We have also at your entreatie pardoned those that burned houses, and robbed the churches. Yea for your satisfaction, we have sent into exile, many honourable and mightie Citizens. The great men also by your meanes are with new lawes brided. What end will those your demands have? Or how long will you abuse your libertie? See ye not that we with more patience did endure to be victored, then you to be victorious? Whither will these misdemeanours drawe this your citie? Do ye not remember that by like disunion, Castruccio a poore Citizen of Lucca, did oppresse it? And the Duke of Athene, a private Captaine of your owne, did conquere it? So long as it lived in union, the power of an Archbishop of Milan, and a Pope, could not prevaile against it: but after, a warre continued diverse yeares, abandoned the enterprise with shame. Why would ye then, that your own discord, should in peace bring this citie in bondage, which so many mightie enemies have (notwithstanding their warre) left free? What profit shall you looke for by your division, other then servitude? Or what commoditie will rise of the goods you have robbed, other then povertie? For they are those, that by our industry have fed the citie: wherof being spoiled, it can no longer be nourished. And they that shall usurpe them,

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wil (as of things evil gotten) not know how to keep them. Wherof shal follow famine and povertie. I, and these Lords commaund yee, and (if without indignitie we so may) earnestly praie you to staie your minds, and rest contented with those things which by us are ordeined. And whensoever you desire anie new sute at our hands, seek the same civilly, and strive not with tumult and armes to obtaine it. For whatsoever you reasonably aske, will be graunted, and men evill disposed shal want occasion to oppresse our citie to your shame, and the ruine therof.

New tumult
in Florence.

These words (because they were true) greatly moved the citizens, and much they thanked the Gonfaloniere, for having performed the office of a good Lord and citizen, offering to obey, wherin so ever it should please him to command them. The Senators also, to give the occasion, did authorize two citizens of every principal office, together with the Sindachi, to practise a reformation, to the common quiet, and report their doings to the Senate. While these matters were in hand, an other tumult arose, which troubled the state more then the former. For the greater part, of the burning and spoyling in times past, were done by the basest sort of people, who notwithstanding that being altogether, they were audacious, yet they ever feared that the furie once past and appeased, they should receive punishment for their defaults, or (as it often happened) be abandoned by those that encouraged them to the performance of the disorder. Whereunto was joyned a hatred of the base people, towards the rich Cittizens and heads of the mysteries, judging themselves not so well paid for their labours, as they had deserved. Because at such time as the cittie was first by Carlo divided into mysteries, and everie mysterie a head thereunto appointed, it was enacted that the subjects of everie mysterie should be in all civil matters judged by the head thereof. These mysteries (as we said before) were at the beginning twelve, afterwards encreased to 21, and they became of so great power, as in fewe yeares they had all the government of the Cittie. Also to the end there should be difference betwixt those that were more, or lesse honourable, they were divided, and seven of them were called great mysteries, and foureteene named the lesse

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mysteriies. By these divisions, and some other occasions before recited, grew the insolencie of the Captaines of factions. Because those Cittizens which aunciently were Guelfi (under whose government that office continued) did ever favour the people of the great mysteriies: and persecuted the lesse mysteriies with their protectors. Whereuppon followed all the tumults that we have rehearsed. And for that in ordering the bodies of the mysteriies, many occupations exercised by diverse of the base people, and common multitude had no place of their owne in the bodie of the mysteriies: they were referred and put under some other mysteriies like unto theirs. Whereof followed, that they either were not satisfied for their labours, or by their maisters oppressed, and so forced to complaine to the Magistrates, of those mysteriies who governed them: at whose handes (as they thought) they received not that justice that to them belonged. Also that mysterie which had in it the greatest number, was the mysterie of wooll, which being of most force and authoritie, did nourish and entertaine the greatest part of the multitude, and base people. The multitude then as well of the mysterie of wooll as others (for the cause before saide) was full of offence: therewith remembring the burning and spoiles by them committed, diverse times assembled in the night, and reasoning of matters past, everie man tolde other the daunger wherein they stode. The one of them, a man of most audacitie and experience, to animate the rest, spake to this effect.

If we were now to consult whether it be best to take armes, robbe the Cittizens, and spoile the churches, my selfe would thinke it a matter considerable, and happily should preferre a quiet povertie, before a perillous profit. But sith armes be alreadie taken, and many displeasures done, mee thinkes, it behoveth us not to let goe the advantage, but seeke meane how to assure our selves. I certainly thinke, that if no man would therein advise us, yet necessitie alone might counsell us. You see all this citie full of displeasure and hatred against us. The Citizens do often assemble, and the Senate is alwaies accompanied with officers. You see they laie snares to entrap us, and prepare new forces to oppresse us. Therefore it standeth us upon

A seditious
persuasion of
one of the
multitude.

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to procure two things, and in our Councils to have two endes. The one, that for your late doings we may not be punished, the other, that we may live with more libertie and satisfaction, then heretofore we have done. It behoveth therefore (as I thinke) that to obtaine pardon of all former faults, our best meane is to commit some new : doubling all our misdeeds, by burning, robbing, and spoiling, and therein to make many companions. For where many offend, none are punished, and small faults are chastised, but great and greivous offences be rewarded. Also where many are injured, fewe do seeke revenge. Because universal displeasures, are with more patience, then particuler wrongs endured. Therefore the multiplying of mischiefes is the readiest way to forgiveness, and the best meane to obtaine those things, which for our libertie are desired. Surely it seemeth, we go now to a certaine victorie: for as much as those, that should impeach us, be disunited and rich. Their disunion shall give us victorie, and their riches (being made ours) shall maintaine it. Let not the antiquitie of their blood (wherof they so much boast) dismaie you: for all men having one beginning be equally auncient, and are by nature made all after one maner. Behold them naked, you shall finde them like to us, and let us be clad with their garments, and they with ours; we shall assuredly seeme noble, and they of base condition: because only povertie and riches are those things, which make the disequalitie. It greeveth me to thinke, that many of you do in conscience repent things done, and intend to refraine doing the like. Surely it is true, that you are not those men, I thought you to be: for indeed, conscience, nor infamie ought to feare you, sith hee that winneth victorie, in what maner so ever it be, doth never receive shame thereof. As for conscience, none account is thereof to be made. For who so standeth in feare of famine and prison, as you do, should not be daunted with dread of death and hell. And if we consider the maner of mens proceedings, we shall find, that all those who have gained great riches or glorie, either by fraude or force are aspired. And those thinges, which they have either by craft or violence obtained, (to cloake the infamie of their theft, and make it seeme honest) do call the same purchase.

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Yea, whosoever for want of wit, or rather plaine folly, doth not follow this course, either sinketh in servitude, or perisheth in povertie. For in troth faithfull subjects are slaves, and good men be still plagued with want. Such as escape bondage, be the most faithlesse, and audatious; and they that shunne lacke, be onely covetous persons, or craftie. For God and nature have laide fortune before all men; of whom we see more enclined to robberie then industry: and more to the bad, then to good actions disposed. Hereof it commeth, that one man eateth an other, and he that can do least, must suffer most. You ought therefore to use force when occasion is offered: which can be at no time more then now. The Citizens are divided, the Senate fearefull, and the Magistrates dismayed. So that before they can be united, and resolved, it is most easie for us to oppresse them. By which oppression, we shall either become wholly Princes of the citie, or at the least, owners of so much, as we shall thereby, not onely have pardon of passed errors, but also authoritie to threaten new. I confesse this resolution is bold and dangerous, but where necessitie pincheth, desperation is judged wisdom. And in great enterprises, valiant men account not of perill: because those attempts which begin with daunger, do end with glorie. Also from one daunger men do not escape, but by hazarding an other. I likewise thinke that sith we see the prisons, torments, and death prepared for us, we ought rather feare to stand still, then seeke to assure our selves: for by the one, the mischief is certaine, by the other doubtfull. How often have I heard you complaine upon the covetousnesse of your superiors, and the injustice of your Magistrates? Now is the time not onely to be delivered from them, but also to become so much their superiors, as they shall have more occasion to feare you, then you them. The opportunitie which this occasion offereth, doth passe, and being past, cannot be called againe. You see the prepare of your adversaries, let us prevent their intention. For which so ever of us do first take armes, shall no doubt be victorious, with ruine of the enemy, and advancement of himselfe. Thus may many of us gaine glorie, and everie man enjoy securitie.

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These perswasions greatly kindled their minds, alreadie warmed with desire of mischief. In so much as they resolved to take armes, and the rather, having drawne unto them more companions of their disposition: whome by oath they bound to helpe them when any should happen by the Magistrates to be oppressed. While these men prepared to surprise the state, their intent was discovered to the Senators, who had in hand one called Simone, of whom they understood all the conspiracy, and that the next day they ment to make a tumult: which perill perceived, the Colledges did assemble, and with the Sindachi practised to unite the citie, but before everie man was come, the night drew on. Then were the Senators advised to send for the Consuls of mysteries, who being together, agreed that all men of warre within Florence should be warned to appeare: and the Gonfaloniere, the morning following with their companies to be armed in the Market place. At such time as Simone was tormented, and the Cittizens assembling, one called Nicholo da San Friano, kept the clocke of the Pallace, who being aware of that businesse in hand, beganne to spread rumours among his neighbours, so as suddenly in the Market place of Santo Spirito, more then a thousand armed men were assembled. These newes came to the eares of the other conspirators, and San Piero Maggiore, and San Lorenzo (places by them appointed) were full of men armed. By that time day appeared, which was the twentie one of July. At which houre, came not to the Market place in favoure of the Senate, above eightie men of armes, and of the Gonfaloniere, not one: for they hearing the Cittie was all in Armes, feared to leave their houses.

The first of the multitude that came to the Market place, were those that assembled at San Piero Maggiore: for whose comming the men of Armes remooved not. Then the rest of the multitude came, and finding no resistance, with a terrible crie demaunded of the Senate to enlarge the prisoners, and not seeing them delivered upon that threatening, sought by force to have them, and set fire on the house of Luigi Guicciardini. Whereupon the Senate, for avoyding a worse inconvenience, delivered the prisoners. Having obtained this demaund, they remooved the Gon-

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falone della Giustitia from the Esecutore, and under him burned the houses of many Citizens, persecuting those, that either for publique or private occasion was hated. Also manie Cittizens to revenge private injuries, brought them to the houses of their enemies. For it sufficed that anie one man cried, let us goe to such a place, or holding the Gonfalone by the hande, looked that way. They likewise burned all the writings belonging to the mysterie of wooll. Thus having committed manie evilles, to accompanie them with some lawdable deede: they made Salvestro de Medici, and diverse other Knightes, to the number of three score and foure. Among whom, were Benedetto and Antonio degli Alberti, Tomazo Strozzi, and such others their trustie friends, yet were some of them enforced thereto. In which accident, more then any other thing, it is to be noted, that some of them whose houses they burned, were in the same day (so neare was the benefit to the injurie) made knightes: which experience was seene in Luigi Gonfaloniere della Giustitia.

The Senators amidst these tumults, finding themselves abandoned by the men of armes, grew doubtful of the heads of the mysteries, and their Gonfalonieri: for none of them according to order given, came to the rescue. And of sixteene Gonfaloni, onely the Ensigne of the golden Lyon, and that of the Cowe and Calfe, with Giovanni Cambini, appeared. And they also tarried not long in the Market place, because they were not followed by the rest. On the other side, the Citizens seeing the furie of the unbrideled multitude, and the Pallace abandoned, some remained in their houses, others followed the troupes of armed men, hoping the rather to save their owne houses and defend their friends. By meane whereof the power of the people encreased, and the forces of the Senate diminished. This tumult continued all that day, and the night being come, at the Pallace of Stephano behinde the Church of S. Barnabo, it staid. The number of these men passed sixe thousand. And before the day appeared, the next morning they caused by threatening the mysteries to send for their Ensignes. Then came forth the Gonfalone della Giustitia, and accompanied with the Ensignes of the mysteries, went to

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the Pallace of the Podesta: who denying to yeelde the possession of that house, they fought with him, and at length wanne that place.

Demaundes of
the People.

The Senate desirous to make composition with them, sith by force they could not appease them, called three of their Colledges, and sent them to the Pallace of the Podesta, to understand the intent of the people: who founde, that the heades of the multitude with the Sindachi of the mysteries, and some other Citizens, had determined what should be required of the Senate. So as, they accompanied with foure of the people specially appointed, returned with these demaundes. First that the mysterie of wooll, might not from that time foorth have anie straunger for their Judge. That three new corporations of mysteries should be erected: one to containe the Carders and Diars; the second to containe the Barbars, Hosiers, and some other mechanickall Artes; and the third, for the poore people. Also, that of these three newe mysteries, there should be two of the Senate: and of the foureteene lesse mysteries, three. That the Senate should provide houses for the meetings and assemblies of these newe corporations. That no man within these bodies corporate, should within two yeares, be constrained to paie anie debt of lesse summe then two duckets. That the banckes should take no prejudice, but the principall onely to be restored. That all men banished or condemned, should be called home. That all the Cittizens admonished, should be admitted to their honours. Many other things in the favour of their private friends they demanded: and likewise the contrarie, that many their enemies might be confined and admonished. All which demaundes notwithstanding they were dishonest and unfit for the state: yet for feare of worse, were by the Senators, Colledges, and people graunted. Also to the end they might receive full perfection, it behoved to have them allowed by the common Councell. And (because in one day two Councels could not be assembled) that consultation of force was deferred til the next day. In the meane time, it was thought good, that the mysteries and people shuld rest content and satisfied, they promising, that so soon as the law were in perfection, all tumults shuld cease.

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The next morning while the common counsell debated the matter, the multitude impatient and voluble, under their ensigns went to the market place, shouting and crying so terribly, that all the Councell and the Senat were dismayed. Wherupon Gueriante Marignuolo, one of the Senators (mooved rather with feare then any other private passion) under colour to keepe the gate, went downe and fled to his house: yet could he not so secretly passe, but was by the multitude knowne. Otherwise they did him no injurie, then crie out saying, that the Senate would all abandon the Pallace, unlesse their children were slaine, and their houses burnt. In the meane space, the lawe was made, and the Senators returned to their chambers. Also the Councell came downe and staid in the Galleries and Courts without going further, as men despairing of the citie, either because they perceived so great dishonestie and frowardnesse in the multitude, or so great cowardice in others, who had power to oppresse, or at the least, to allaie the rage of these tumults. The Senators were also amazed, and despairing of their cuntry, beheld one of their company fled, and no other Cittizen that would either assist them with force or counsell. Therefore they resolved of that they could, being incertaine what else they should do.

Tomazo Strozzi, and Benedetto Alberti, either mooved with private ambition, desiring to be onely Lords of the Pallace, or else because they so thought best, perswaded the others to give place to this populer furie, and as private men returne home to their houses. This counsell given by those that were heads of the tumult (notwithstanding that the rest gave place) made Alamanno Acciaivoli, and Nicholo del Bene, (two of the Senate) to become offended. Yet after being come to themselves, they said; that if other men would depart, they could not let them: but for themselves, they would not go, till their time appointed, unlesse that with their authoritie they did also loose their lives. These contrarieties of opinion, doubled the dispaire of the Senate, and the peoples offence. In so much as, the Gonfaloniere, desiring rather to end his office with shame, then perill, resigned the same to Tomazo Strozzi, who led him from the Pallace, and conducted him to his house. The

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The Govern-
ment gained
by the multi-
tude.
Michele
Lando.

other Senators in like maner, one after an other, went home. Then Alamanno and Nicholo, to shew no more courage then wisdome, seeing themselves left alone, departed also: whereby the Pallace remained in the hand of the multitude and the eight governours for the warre, who had not given up their offices. At such time as the people entred the Pallace, one Michele di Lando, a Carder of wooll, bare the Ensigne of the Gonfaloniere Giustitia, hee being bare legged and raggedly apparrelled, followed with the multitude, went up the staires, and being come to the presence of the Senators, staid, and turned himselfe to the multitude, saying; Doo you not see that this Pallace and this cittie is yours, and in your hands? what doo you now thinke good to doo? Whereto everie man aunswered, that hee should be Gonfaloniere, and Lorde to dispose, and governe the cittie as himselfe thought good.

Ordinaunces
of Michele
Lando.

Michele accepted his authoritie, for hee was indeede a man verie wittie, and more bounde to Nature, then Fortune. Then hee determined to appease the cittie, and staie the tumults: also to hold the people occupied, and winne himselfe time to give order, commaunded one Ser Nuto, to be searched out, who had bene by Lapo Castiglionichio, appointed a Serjeant. To the execution of which service, the greater number of those that were present did goe. Then to begin that government with justice, which by favoure of the multitude was given him, he commanded by proclamation, that no man should steale or take injustly from an other. And the rather to terrifie all men, hee erected a Gibbet in the Market place; he displaced the Sindachi of mysteries, and made new; he deprived the Senate and Colledges, and burned the Borsi. In the mean time Ser Nuto was by the multitude brought into the market place and there hanged by one foote. Every man with his sword cut him in pieces, til at length there remained not any thing but his foote. On the other side, the eight governours for the war (supposing themselves by the departure of the Senators, to be only Lords of the citie) appointed new Senators: which Michele knowing, sent one to tell them, they should presently depart the Pallace, because hee would let all men understand, that hee alone without

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their counsell could governe Florence. That done, he caused the Sindachi of mysteries to assemble, and created foure Senators of the base multitude, two of the great mysteries, and two of the lesse. Moreover he made new Squittini; dividing the state into three parts, commaunding that the one should belong to the new mysteries, the second to the lesser, and the third to the great mysteries. Hee gave unto Salvestro de Medici, the rentes of the houses uppon the olde bridge. To himselfe the Podesteria of Empoli: and on many other his friends of the multitude, he bestowed benefits: many others at his hand received pleasure and were restored to their owne, not so much for their good as that he might the rather be by them, from the envie of time defended. Then it seemed to the poore multitude, that in this reformation of the state, the better sorte of people were too much partakers thereof: and they not to have therein so much authoritie as to defend themselves, if neede should require. Wherefore set on with their accustomed boldnesse, they tooke armes againe, and uniting themselves under their Ensignes came anew into the Market, demaunding of the Senators to come downe to the Ringhiera, and consult of new matters concerning their securitie and good.

The multitude offended with Michele Lando his lawes.

Michele seeing their arrogancie, (yet not to move them to more offence, without asking what they would) blamed the maner of their demaunding, and perswaded them to laie downe armes, saying, that should be graunted unto them, which with the gravitie of the Senate through force, might not be graunted. The multitude with that offended, assembled neare the Pallace of S. Maria Novella, where among themselves they appointed eight heades with their officers and orders, which gave them reverence and reputation. So as, the citie had two places of state, and was by two diverse officers governed. These heads determined among them, that ever eight, named by the bodie of the Mysteries, should dwell in the Pallace with the Senate, and whatsoever the Senators should determine, must be by them confirmed. They tooke from Salvestro de Medici and Michele, all that, which in their former Councils was given them. They appointed many new officers, and allowances for their degrees.

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These appointments taken, to make them the more assured, they sent two of them to the Senate, to require their consent, intending, that if that were not graunted, that then by force they would have it. Those messengers, with great audacitie and more presumption, declared their Commission to the Senate: and told the Gonfalone what honour and authoritie they had given him, and with what ingratitude and small respect at his hand, they were reacquited. At length falling from words to threatnings, Michele could no longer endure such arrogancy. But remembering more the place hee occupied, then the basenesse of his late estate, thought meete by extraordinary meane, to bridle an extraordinary insolency; and drawing forth the sword he ware, hurt one of these messengers: and after caused him to be bound and imprisoned. This being knowne, greatly offended the multitude, and hoping to winne that by force, which unarmed they could not, presently tooke armes with great furie, and marched towards the Senators, with intent to compell them. Michele on the other side, doubting that which followed, determined to prevent them, and imagining it more for his glorie to assault others, then tarry within and be assaulted, and so like to his predecessors be forced with shame of the Pallace to flie away: did assemble a great number of Cittizens, who (having well advised themselves of their errours) mounted on horsebacke, and being followed by many armed men, went to Santa Maria Novella, to fight with the enemy. The people having (as wee before declared) made the like determination, almoste at the same time marched to the Market place: but it happened that the one passed by one streete, and the other by an other, so as by the way they met not. Michele being returned backe, founde the Market place taken, and the Pallace assaulted: hee therefore suddenly charged the enemies and overthrew them. Some were forced to flie, others cast downe their weapons, and some hid themselves. This victorie gotten, the tumult was appeased, onely through the vertue of the Gonfaloniere, who for courage, wisdom, and integritie, excelled all the Citizens of that time, and is to be numbred among those few that have profitted their country. For had he bene of evil disposition or ambitious, the common

Michele
Lando
victorious.

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weale had utterly lost the libertie therof, and should have fallen into a greater tyrannie then that of the Duke of Athene: but the bountie of Lando was such, as suffred no thought to enter his mind that might be prejudiciall to the universall quiet. His wisdom directed all things, so as many of his fellow ship gave him place, and his adversaries by force of armes were oppressed. Which maner of proceeding, caused the multitude to stand dismaied, and the better sort of Artificers to looke about them, and thinke how great their shame was, having oppressed the great mens pride, to endure the populer dregs.

At such time as Michele obtained this victorie against the multitude, a new Senate was chosen, wherein were two men of so vile and unworthie condition, as every man desired to be acquit of that great infamie. When these officers were created (which was the first day of September) the Market place was full of armed men. So soone as the olde Senators came out of the Pallace, there was a brute given out among the armed men, that they would not, that any of the base people should be of the number of Senators. Whereupon the Senate for their satisfaction deprived two, the one called Tira, the other Baroccio, in whose roomes, they placed Georgio Scali, and Francesco di Michele. They also deposed the mysteries of the base people, and all officers, excepting Michele Lando, Lorenzo di Puccio, and a fewe others of the better sort. They divided the honours into two parts, allotting the one, to the greater mysteries, the other to the lesse. Of the Senate, they willed there should be ever five of the lesse mysteries, and foure of the great. And the Gonfaloniere to be chosen sometimes of the one, and sometimes of the other. The state thus ordeined for the present, appeased the citie. And albeit the government was taken away from the base people, yet the Artificers of meanest condition, remained more mightie then the populer Nobilitie, who were forced to give place, to winne from the base people the favoure of the mysteries, and content them: which was also favoured, by such as desired that those should be oppressed, who under the name of Guelfi, had with great insolencie injured many Cittizens. Among others that allowed this manner of

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New division
in Florence.

government, Giorgio Scali, Benedetto Alberti, Salvestro di Medici, and Tomazo Strozzi were made as Princes of the citie. These matters thus proceeding and handled, the division alreadie begunne betwixt the populer Nobilitie, and the meane Artificers, through ambition of Ricci and Albizi, became confirmed. Whereof (because afterwarde followed greevous effects, and of them we shall be often occasioned to speake) we will call the one populer, the other plebeiall. The state continued thus three yeares, full of banishments and murthers. For they that governed, knowing there were both within and abroade, manie evill contented, did live in great suspition. The Cittizens within discontented, either they continually attempted some newe practise, or devised with themselves how they might do it. And those that lived without, having no bridle, by meane of some Prince or some Common weale, here and there, sowed sedition.

Divers great
Cittizens
accused.

At this time Giannozzo di Salerno, Lieutenant to Durazzo, descended of the Kings of Napoli, hapned to be at Bologna, intending to assault the kingdom, and take the same from Queene Giovanna. At the same time also were in Bologna many banished Florentines, who with the Pope and with Carlo, practised diverse things: which was the cause, that they who governed in Florence did live in great suspition, and gave credit easily to the slaunders of those Cittizens that were suspected. During this doubtfull time, it was revealed to the Magistrates, that Giannozzo of Salerno, should with the banished men present himselfe before Florence, and that many within would take armes and deliver the citie to his hand. Upon this report many were accused, the chiefe of whom, were Piero delli Albizi, and Carlo Strozzi: and next to them the Cipriani Giacomo Sacchetti, Donati Barbadori, Filippo Strozzi, and Giovanni Anselini: who were all taken, saving Carlo Strozzi, that fled. And the Senate, to the end none should take armes in their favour, appointed Tomazo Strozzi, and Benedetto Alberti, with many armed men to guard the citie. These Cittizens were apprehended and examined, but the accusation and their answer conferred together, no fault was in them found: Insomuch that the Captaine not willing to

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condemne them, their enemies in the meane space moved the people to mutinie, and by force they were judged to death. Neither was Piero degli Albizi any whit favoured, either for the greatnesse of his house, or for that long time he had in the citie more reputation then any other, and had bene there more honoured and feared. During his prosperitie, some friend of his, either to perswade him to curtesie in his greatnesse, or else some enemie to threaten him with the inconstancie of fortune: at such time as hee made a solemne banquet to diverse Citizens, sent him a silver dish full of Comfits, and in those Comfits was hidden a naile; which being founde and seene of diverse his guesstes, it was imagined, that thereby he should remember to staie the wheele: because fortune having set him on the height thereof (the wheele keeping course) must needes cast him downe. Which interpretation, was first by his decaie, and after by his death verified.

After this execution, the citie remained full of confusion, because both the victored, and the victorious stood in feare: but the worst of all was, that the governours themselves lived in continuall suspition. For everie accident were it never so litle, made them to do new injuries to the factions, condemning, admonishing, and sending the Citizens into exile. Whereunto they joyned new lawes, and new orders, many times made, onely to fortifie their authoritie. All which was done to the injurie of them who were to their faction suspected. And they created fortie sixe men, who with the Senate should discover men suspected to the state. These officers admonished thirtie nine Citizens, making many populer persons great men, and many great men, populer. Also, the rather to withstand all external forces, they entertained John Aguto, an English Captain, who, in those daies, was accounted of great experience in the war, and had long served the Pope and others in Italy. The suspition abroad proceeded of intelligence given, how certain companies of men at armes belonging to Carlo Durazzo, were put in readinesse, to assault the kingdome. Among whom, (as was reported) were many banished Florentines. For the meeting with those perils, besides the ordinarie forces, a summe of mony was provided.

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The Queene
of Napoli
taken
prisoner.

Carlo arrived in Arezzo, received of the Florentines fortie thousand Duckets, promising not to molest them. After that time, he atchived his enterprize, and happily surprized the kingdome of Napoli, tooke the Queen Giovanna, and sent her prisoner into Hungary. Which victorie encreased a new suspition of those that in Florence feared the state. Because they could not beleve that their money should do more with the King, then the auncient friendship, which that house had with the Guelfi, who with manifold injury, had bene by him oppressed. These suspitions encreasing, encreased also the injuries, which did not decrease, but multiply them. By meanes whereof, the greater number of them lived much discontented, which discontent grew the greater by the insolency of Georgio Scali, and Tomazo Strozzi: whose authoritie prevailed more then the Magistrates: and everie man feared, least they beeing followed with the people, would oppresse them. In so much as, that, not onely the good men, but also the seditious sort, accounted that government tyrannicall and violent. But to the end, that the insolencie of Georgio should at length take end it fortun'd that hee became accused of one Giovanii Cambio, his companion: having (as he said) practised diverse waies against the state: yet upon examination, was found guiltlesse by the Captaine. So as then, the Judge went about to punish the accuser with that punishment, which the partie accused should have suffered, had he bene found faultie. And Georgio, neither with sute nor authoritie, able to save him, went with Tomazo Strozzi, and the multitude armed to deliver him by force. At which time, they sacked the Captaines Pallace, and forced him (for safetie of his person) to hide himselfe, which action filled the citie with so much hatred towards him, that thereby his enemies hoped to overthrow him, and take the citie both from him, and the plebeyall people also: who through presumption, had usurped the same three yeares. Thereof also the Captaine gave great occasion; for he (the tumult ceased) went to the Senate, and said, that as he had willingly taken upon him, that, whereto their Lordships had elected him, because therein he hoped to serve just men, readie to take armes, in the favoure, not in the

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prejudice of justice : so seeing he had seene and knew the government of the citie, and the maner of life therein ; that office which he willingly tooke in hand for his profit and honour, as willingly there he would yeeld the same up to shunne the perill, and losse that might thereof follow. The Captaine was by the Senators comforted, and promised reparation of former losses and future securitie. Then certaine of them, together with some Cittizens, who were holden lovers of the Common weale, and men least suspected, concluded that a good opportunitie was offered to take the citie from Georgio, and the multitude. By reason, that through that his late insolencie, the Citizens were greatly alienated from him : and was therefore good to execute that intent, before the offended mindes of the multitude were reconciled. For well they knew, that the favoure of the multitude upon every trifling accident is gotten and lost. Judging moreover, that for the bringing this enterprise to effect, it behoved them to winne the good will of Benedetto Alberti, without whose consent the action seemed dangerous. This Benedetto was a man exceeding rich, curteous, grave, a lover of the libertie of his country, and such a one, as much misliked the tyrannous proceedings of the time. By meane whereof, it was easie both to appease him, and also perswade him to the destruction of Georgio. For, the occasions, which made him enemy to the populer Nobilitie and Guelf, and friend to the multitude, was their insolencie, and their tyrannous maner of government. And, seeing that the heads of the multitude, were become of like insolencie, he would likewise leave them, as one that would not consent to the injuries by them done to many Citizens. So in conclusion, those reasons which induced him to take part with the people, did also perswade him to leave them.

Benedetto and the heads of the Arts thus drawne to favoure the populer Nobilitie, tooke armes, apprehended Georgio, and Tomazo fled away. The next day after, Georgio was beheaded, to so great terror of his partie, as no man moved in his favour, though every man went to behold his ruine. He being brought to die, complained of those people, that lately had adored him, and lamented

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his own hard fortune, and the malignitie of the Citizens, who having wrongfully injured him, were forced to favoure, and honour the multitude, wherein was neither trust nor grauitie. And knowing Benedetto Alberti among the rest, of the armed men, said unto him; And thou Benedetto doest consent to see me here so injured, as if I were where thou art, I would not suffer thee: but I do prognosticate, that as this day is the end of my miserie, so is the same the beginning of thy destruction. He complained moreover of himselfe, for having too much trusted to the people, whom everie voice, everie action, and every suspicion moveth and corrupteth. With these lamentations he ended his life, amidst his enemies armed, and rejoycing at his death. Shortly after, certaine other his nearest friends were slaine, and drawne in the streetes by the people. The death of this Citizen troubled all the citie; for at the execution thereof, many tooke armes in favoure of the Senate and Captaine of the people. Many other, either for their owne ambition, or suspicion, did the like. Also the citie being full of diverse humors, everie man had his diverse intent: which hee desired to execute before armes were layd downe. The olde Nobilitie (called great men) could not endure to see themselves deprived of the publique honours: and therefore with all studie laboured to recover them, liking well that authoritie should be restored to the Captaines of factions. To the populer Nobilitie, and the greater mysteries it was offensive, that the state was participated with the lesse mysteries, and base people. On the other side, the lesse mysteries desired rather to encrease then diminish their dignities. And the poore people, feared to forgo their Colledges. Which diversitie of mindes, made continually in Florence tumults to arise, for the space of one yeare. Sometimes the great men, sometimes the chiefe mysteries, sometimes the lesse, together with the multitude, and sometimes altogether, at one instant in diverse places were armed. Whereof ensued among themselves, and with the souldiers of the Pallace, diverse conflicts.

The Senate, sometimes by giving place, and sometimes by fighting, sought all they could to remedie that mischief. Insomuch as, in the end, and after two consultations, and

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two Balie, for reformation of the citie, and after many harmes, many travels, and many great perils, a government was settled: whereby were revoked, all those that before, and sith Salvestro de Medici was Gonfaloniere, had bene confined. All priviledges and provisions, were taken away from those to whome they had bene given by the Balia of 78. All honours were restored to the Guelfi. The two new mysteries were discorporated, and either of those remitted under the auncient mysteries. The Gonfaloniere di Guistitia, was taken away from the lesse mysteries, and they reduced to be partakers of halfe the third part of the honours, and of those the best were taken from them. So that, the faction of populer Nobilitie and Guelfi, recovered the government, and the multitude lost their authoritie, which they had holden from the yeare 1378 til 81 at which time, this alteration happened: neither was this government lesse injurious towards the Citizens, nor more mild, then was that of the multitude. For so many of the populer Nobilitie were confined, as had bene noted to be defenders thereof, together with a great number of the principall men of the multitude. And among them, Michele Lando; whose former authoritie and good deserts, could not in this time of populer furie, save him. His country therefore, for many good merits, was to him unthankfull. Into which error, because many Princes and Common weales do fall, is the cause, that men uppon like examples terrified, before they feele the smart of their governors ingratitude, do first offend them. These exilements and these slaughters did displease, and ever had displeased Benedetto Alberti, and he both publicquely, and privately, blamed them. For which cause, the Lords of the state feared him, as chiefe friend to the multitude, and thought him consenting to the death of Georgio Scali: not because his doings did offend him, but to be alone in the government. Besides that, his words and workes did encrease the suspition, which made that side which governed, to keepe eye upon him, and watch opportunitie to oppresse him. The citie living in these tearmes, the actions abroad were of no great importance. For if any thing were done, it proceeded of feare, by reason that Lodovico di Angio came

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New reformation in
Florence.

Michele
Lando
confined.

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Carlo di
Angio, come
into Italy.

then into Italy, to restore the kingdome of Napoli to the Queene Giovanna, and remooove Carlo Durazzo. The passage of this Prince, greatly amazed the Florentines; for Carlo (according to the custome of old friends) demaunded of them aide, and Lodovico (like unto him that seeketh new friends) desired them to stand neutrall. Whereupon the Florentines to seeme willing to content Lodovico, and aide Carlo, discharged Giovanni Aguto, and procured Pope Urbano to entertaine him: which subiltie was easily by Lodovico discovered, and for the same held himselfe much injured by the Florentines. During the warre betwixt Lodovico and Carlo in Puglia, new forces came from France in the favoure of Lodovico, who arrived in Toscana, were by the banished men of Arezzo brought into that citie: where they removed the faction, which governed for Carlo: intending also to have chaunged the state of Florence, as they had altered Arezzo. Then died Lodovico, wherby the affaires of Puglia and Toscana varied Fortune. For Carlo assured himselfe of the kingdome, which was well neare lost. And the Florentines mistrusting the defence of Florence, recovered Arezzo and bought it, of those souldiers which kept it, for Lodovico.

The death of
Carlo di
Angio.

Carlo then being assured of Puglia, went to take possession of Hungheria, which was by inheritance descended unto him, leaving his wife in Puglia, with Ladislao and Giovanna his children, being but babes, as hereafter shall be declared. Carlo possessed Hungheria, but shortly after there died. For this conquest, much tryumph was made in Florence, and the magnificence thereof was no lesse both for publique and private expence, then if the occasion therof had bene their owne. For many families kept open feasts: and the house of Alberti for pompe and magnificence exceeded the rest. The expences and charge of Armour that the Alberti used, were not onely fit for private persons of the best degree, but for the greatest Princes: which gained them no small envie. Whereto adding the suspition which the state had of Benedetto, was the cause of his ruine; because those that governed, could not endure him: fearing everie houre it might come to passe, that through favoure of his faction, hee might recover reputation, and drive them

Benedetto
Alberto sus-
pected and
envied.

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from the citie. These doubts remaining, it happened, that he being Gonfaloniere of companies, Philipppo Malagotti his sonne in lawe, was chosen Gonfaloniere di Giustitia: which doubled the mistrust of the Governours, imagining that Benedetto encreased over fast in force, and the state thereby in much perill. For prevention of which inconveniences without tumult, they encouraged Bese Magalotti, his companion, to signifie to the Senate, that Philipppo having passed his turne, could not, nor ought not, exercise that office. The cause was by the Senate examined, some of them for hate, some to take away occasion of slander, judged Philipppo not capable of that dignitie, and elected in his place Bardo Mancini, a man to the plebeyan faction contrarie, and mortall enemy to Benedetto. In so much as, hee beeing placed in office, called a Balia for reformation of the state, and therein confined Benedetto Alberti, and admonished the rest of that family, onely Antonio Alberti, excepted.

Benedetto being readie to depart, called unto him all his friendes, and seeing them sad, said; you see (my good fathers and Lords) in what sort Fortune hath oppressed me, and threatned you: whereof I marvell not, neither ought you to marvell. Because it ever commeth to passe, that who so ever will be good among many evil, or doth seek to hold up that which many labour to pull downe, must of force perish. The love of my Countrey made me to joyne with Salvestro di Medici, and after to depart from Georgio Scali. The same did likewise perswade me, to hate the maners of those that now governe: who as they have not had any to punish them, so do they desire, that none should finde fault with them. For my part I am content with my banishment to acquite them of that feare which they had, not of me onely, but of everie other man, that knoweth their tyrannous and wicked dealings. My punishment therefore doth threaten others; of my selfe I take no pittie: for those honors which my country being free hath given me, now brought unto servitude, cannot take from mee. And the memorie of my passed life shall alwaies more comfort mee, then mine hard fortune which brought mine exile, shall discourage me. It greeveth me much, that my

The speech
of Benedetto
Alberti, at his
banishment.

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country should become a spoile for a few, and be subject to their pride and covetousnesse. I am also right sorie to thinke, that those evils which now ende in me, will begin in you. And I feare, least those miseries wil persecute you with more hinderance, then they have persecuted me. I would therefore counsell you, to prepare your mindes against all misfortunes, and beare your selves so, as what adversitie so ever happen (for many will happen) every man may know you are faultlesse, and that without your guilt they be hapned.

The death of
Benedetto
Alberti.

After this leave taken, to give as great a testimonie of his bountie abroad, as hee had done in Florence: he travelled to the Sepulchre of Christ, from whence returning, in the Ile of Rodes he died. His boanes were brought to Florence, and therewith great honour buried, by those, who in his life, with all slaunder and injurie did molest him. During these troubles, the house of Alberti was not onely oppressed, but many other Citizens also admonished and confined. Among whom, were Piero Benini, Mattheo Alderotti, Giovanni, and Francesco del Bene, Giovanni Benci, Andrea Adimari, and with them, a great number of the lesse mysteries. Among the admonished were the Covoni, the Benini, the Rinucci, the Formiconi, the Corbozi, the Manegli, and the Alderotti. It was the custome to create the Balia for time certaine, but those Citizens having it in their hands, being placed by honest meane, notwithstanding their time were not expired, did yeelde up their offices: which being knowne, many ranne armed to the Pallace, desiring that before the officers departed, more Citizens might be confined, and admonished. Which request greatly offended the Senat, who with faire promises entertained them, til forces were made readie, and then wrought so, as feare enforced them to laie downe those armes, which furie caused them to take in hand. Yet somewhat to feed so fierce an humor, and notwithstanding take away more authoritie from the plebeyall Artizans: it was ordered, that where they had the third of the offices, they should now have onely the fourth part. Also, to the ende that two of the most trustie Citizens might be alwaies of the Senate, they gave authoritie to the Gonfaloniere di Gius-

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titia, and foure other Citizens, to make a Borza of chosen men: out of which number at everie Senate should be elected two. The state thus settled after six yeares (which was in the yeare 1381) the citie lived quiet within, till the yeare 1393. In which time, Giovan Galiazzo Visconti, called Conte di Vertu, tooke prisoner his uncle Barnabo, and by that mean, became Prince of all Lombardy.

Giovan
Galiazzo be-
com prince
of Lombardy,
1393.

This Giovan Galiazzo hoped by force to be made king of Italy, as by craft he was attained to be Lord of Milan. And in the yeare 1390, hee began a brave warre against the Florentines: wherein Fortune became so variable, as many times the Duke was in no lesse daunger to lose all then the Florentines, who indeed had lost all, if the Duke had longer lived. Yet the resistance by them made, was so couragious and marvellous, as might be by any Common weale; and the end no lesse perillous, then the warre had bene terrible. For when the Duke had taken Bologna, Pisa, Perugia, and Siena, and prepared a Crowne to be set on his head in Florence, as king of Italy, he died. Which death suffered him not to taste the sweete of his passed victories, nor the Florentines to feele the perils at hand. While this warre with the Duke continued, Masso degli Albizi was made Gonfaloniere di Giustitia, whom the death of Piero had made enemies to the Alberti. And for that the humour of the factions continued, Masso (notwithstanding that Benedetto was dead in exile) did hope before that Senate ended, to be revenged upon the rest of that family: and tooke occasion, by one that was upon certaine practises with the Rebelles examined, who named Alberto and Andrea delli Alberti. Whereupon, both they were apprehended, and the citie wholly chaunged. In so much as the Senate tooke armes, assembled the people, created a new Balia, and by vertue thereof, many Citizens were confined, and new Imborsations of officers made. Among those that were confined, were almost all the Alberti, many Citizens also admonished, and some put to death. Upon occasion of so great injuries, the mysteries and the base people tooke armes, thinking their honour and lives were in hazard. One part of them came into the Market place, an other ranne to the house of Veri di Medici: who after the death

The death of
Galiazzo.

Veri di
Medici.

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of Salvestro remained as chiefe of that family. To deceive those that came into the Market place, the Senate appointed Captaines, and gave the Ensigne of the faction Guelfa, delivering the same into the hands of Rinaldo Gianfigliazzi, and Donati Acciaiuoli, as men of the populer number, more then any other acceptable to the multitude. Those that went to the house of Veri, desired him to take the government, and deliver them from such as were enemies to good men, and good orders.

All such writers as have left memorie of the proceedings of that time, do affirme, that if Veri had not bene more honest, then ambitious, hee might without any let, have aspired to the principallitie of that citie. Because the exceeding great injuries done to the mysteries, some justly and some unjustly, had so kindled their mindes to revenge, as nothing wanted for the performance of their desires, but a Captaine to lead them. Neither wanted those, that would put Veri in remembrance what he might do. For Antonio di Medici (who had before time bene long for private respects, his enemy) did perswade him to take in hand the government of the state. To whom he answered, as thy threatnings (being mine enemy) made me not to feare thee; so thy Councell being my friend, shall not abuse me. Having uttered these words, he turned himselfe to the multitude, and perswading them to be of good courage, promised to be their defender, so that they would be content to be by him directed. Then in the midst of them he went to the Market place, and from thence up to the Pallace, and being come to the presence of the Senate, said: That he was not sorie to have so lived, that the people of Florence did love him: but yet sorie hee was, that they had not such opinion of him, as his passed life did deserve. For sith he had not shewed any signe of sedition or ambition, he could not conceive why he was thought a maintainer of sedition (or as ambitious) a man that studied to usurpe his country. Therefore hee humbly besought their Lordships, that the ignorance of the multitude might not be imputed his fault: because so much as in him was, hee submitted himselfe unto them. He moreover put them in minde to use their fortune modestly, and be content to take rather halfe a victorie

The speech
of Veri di
Medici to
the Senat of
Florence.

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with saving the citie, then a whole conquest with the ruine thereof. The Senators greatly commended Veri, and required him to persuade, that armes might be laide downe, and then they would not faile to do that, which he and other Citizens should counsell them.

After these speeches, Veri returned to the Market place, and joyning his followers, to those that were conducted by Rinaldo and Donato, said unto them all, that hee had found in the Senators a verie good disposition towards them, to whom he had also said much, albeit by means of the short time, and absence of the officers, nothing was concluded. Wherefore he praied them to laie their weapons downe, and obey the Senate: thereby to declare that curtesie, rather then pride, entreatie, more then threatning, might move them: and that they should not misse meanes and securitie, so long as they were by him governed. Thus upon his word every man was content to return to his owne house. The multitude having upon this perswasion disarmed themselves, the Senate first caused a guard to be set in the Market place: then they mustered two thousand Cittizens, men assured to the state, equally dividing them under Gonfalonì, whom they commaunded to be readie whensoever that they were called. Also commandement was given, that no man whose name was not taken nor warned, should for anie cause be armed. This preparation made, they confined and slew many of those Artificers which had in the late tumult shewed themselves most seditious and violent. And to the end that the Gonfaloniere de Giustitia, might have more reputation and dignitie: it was ordered and thought necessary, that whosoever did exercise that office, shuld be of 45 yeres. For confirmation of the state, many other provisions were devised. These ordinances made, the Senators were insupportable, and to the good Citizens (even of their own faction) they became odious. For they could not judge any state good or secure, which had need with so great violence to be defended. So that this maner of proceeding, did not onely offend those of the familie of Alberti, which yet remained in the citie: and the Medici, who thought them to have abused the people, but many others also were with so great violence displeased. But the first

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Donati
Acciaivoli.

that opposed himselfe was Donato sonne to Giacopo Acciaivoli. He being in the citie great, and rather superiour, then equall, to Masso degli Alberti (who for the great service done, when he governed as Gonfaloniere was accounted as head of the Commonaltie) could not among so many discontentations live contented: nor (as the most men do) preferre private profit, before common commoditie. And therefore, thought he would assaie to restore those that had bene banished, or at the least, set the admonished into their offices. For compassing whereof, he whispered his intent in the eare of this and that Citizen, shewing that otherwise he could not please the people, nor staie their offence. And concluding said, hee onely staid to be of the Senate, and then to put the matter in execution. Yet because in the actions of men, delaie bringeth wearinesse, and haste is accompanied with perill: to shunne wearinesse, hee resolved to adventure with perill.

Amongst the Senators, Michele Acciaivoli his companion, and Nicholo Riconori his friend, were elected: whereby Donato imagined a fit opportunitie to be offered, and desired them to propound a lawe to the Councels, wherein should be contained the restoration of the Cittizens. They being by him perswaded, commoned with their fellows, who answered, that they would attempt no new matters, sith the obtaining of them was doubtfull, and the perill certaine. Then Donato having in vaine made prooffe of everie mean, in great choller let them understand, that seeing upon good occasion offered, they did not reforme the citie, he would with force of armes do it. Which words being greatly offensive, and the matter debated among the chiefe Governours, Donato was cited, and appearing, was by wnesse of him to whom he committed the message, convinced: and in the end confined to Barletta. Also Antonio de Medici with all the rest descended of Alamanno, together with many base Artizans (yet such as had credit with the people) were banished: which things happened after two yeares, that Masso had taken in hand the government. The citie thus standing, many were discontented within, and many without banished. Of which number remained at Bologna, Picchio, Cavicciulli, Tomazo de Ricci, Antonio de Medici,

Donati
Acciaivoli
with others
confined.

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Benedetto degli Spini, Antonio Girolami, Christofano di Carlone, with two others of vile condition: but all yong men adventurours, and disposed to hazard any fortune for their country. To these men, secret intelligence was given by Pigiello, and Baroccio Cavicciulli (who as men admonished lived in Florence) that if they did come to the citie disguised, they wold receive them into their houses. From whence they might go and kill Masso degli Albizi, and call the people to armes, who (being discontent) would easily move, and the rather, because they should be followed by the Ricci, Adimari, Medici, Manegli, and many other families. They then encouraged with this hope, the fourth of August 1397, came to Florence, and entring secretly as they were appointed, sent to know where Masso was, intending with his death to raise the tumult.

Conspiracie
in Florence
against Masso
Delli Albizi
and others.

At that time, Masso was come from his house, and staid in an Appothecaries shop, neare San Pietro Maggiore. The messenger sent to await him, ran to tell the conspirators therof; who taking armes and comming to the place found him gone: yet not dismaid that this appointment sped not, returned towards the old Market, and there killed one of the contrary faction. Then the larum began, and the people cried armes, libertie, and kill these tyrants: which done, they returned towards the new Market, and at the end of Calimara, they slew an other. And with like showte, following their way, and no man taking armes, at the Loggia Nighitiosa, they staid. Then they climed up to a high place, and a great multitude drew neare, rather to behold them then helpe them, and with a loud voice they perswaded men to take armes, and acquite themselves of that servitude which they so greatly hated; alledging, that the lamentation of the evill contented persons in the cittie, more then their owne injuries moved them to seeke meane to be delivered. And that they knew, many did pray God to grant them occasion to be revenged: which they wold performe, whensoever they might find a head to lead them. And now occasion being come, and Captains ready to lead them, every man looked one upon an other, and stood as men amazed. So that, their resolution was in vaine, and the Citizens stil with bondage burthened. Also they much

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marvelled, that they (who for every small injurie were wont to take armes) would not now be moved, but suffer so many their Citizens to be banished and admonished: yet was it in their power to restore the banished to their countrey, and the admonished to their offices. Which words (though true) moved not the multitude at all, either for feare, or els because the death of those two had made the murtherers odious. So that the movers of the tumult, seeing that neither words nor deeds had force to encourage any man, (too late aware how dangerous a thing it is to labour the libertie of a people, that will in any wise be subject) despairing of the enterprise, into the temple of Santa Reparata, retired themselves: and there not to save their lives, but delaie their death, they shut themselves up. The Senators at the beginning of the tumult were armed and shut the Pallace gate, till after the case was understood, and the men knowne that moved the rumour, being before locked up, tooke courage, and commanded the Captaine to call his souldiers to apprehend the offenders. In so much that with small force the doores of the Temple were broken: part of them within were slain, in defence of the place, and the rest taken. They being examined, confessed none to be culpable but Barocco and Piggiello Cavicciulli, with others that were slaine. After this accident, there happened one other of more importance.

Conspiracy by
the Duke of
Milan against
Florence.

At this time (as hath bene before said) the cittie had warre with the Duke of Milan, who finding that to oppresse it, his forces sufficed not, determined to worke with wiles, and by aid of the banished Florentines (of whom Lombardy was full) practised that enterprise, whereto also many within the towne were made privie. Concluding that upon a certain day, many of those banished men, apt for armes, should go to places neare Florence, and by the river Arno passe into the citie, and there with friends enter the houses of the chiefe governors, and sleying them, reform the government as themselves thought good. Among the conspirators within, was one of the house of Ricci named Samminiato, but (as in conspiracies for the most part it happeneth) that a fewe are not of force inough, and many will not keepe counsell: Samminiato seeking companions, found an accuser.

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This man imparted the matter to Salvestro Cavicciulli, whome the injuries done to his kinsfolke and himselfe, ought have made trustie. But he regarding more the feare at hand, then the future hope, suddenly bewrayed the practise to the Senators, and they apprehending Samminiato, constrained him to confesse all the conspirators: yet was there no man apprehended, saving Tomazo Duvisi, who comming from Bologna, and not hearing what happened in Florence, was by the way intercepted. All the rest after the apprehension of Samminiato for feare, fled. Then Samminiato and Tomazo, being according to their merits punished: authoritie was given to diverse Cittizens to finde out more offenders, and assure the state. They then discovered for Rebels, sixe of the family of Ricci, sixe of the Alberti, three of the Medici, three of the Scali, two of the Strozzi, Bindo Altoviti, Barnardo Adimari, with many of the meaner sort. They admonished all the family of Alberti, Ricci, and Medici, for tenne yeares (a fewe of them excepted). Among the Alberti was one called Antonio, who being accounted a quiet and peaceable man, was in that respect not admonished. It chanced after the suspition of the conspiracie not quenched, there was a Monke taken, who had bene seene diverse times during the conspiracie, to goe from Bologna to Florence. This Monke confessed that he had brought diverse letters to Antonio, who denied the matter, yet being avowed by the Monke, he was condemned in mony, and confined 300 miles distant from the citie. Also to the end, that the Alberti might not daily put the state in daunger, all that family above fifteene yeares of age, were banished. This accident happened in the yeare 1402.

The famely
of Alberti
confined.
An. 1402.

The next yeare died Giovan Galiazzo, Duke of Milan: whose death (as is beforesaid) ended the warre which had continued twelve yeares. In this meane space, the government became of more authoritie: and having fewe enemies both within and without, the Florentines attempted the enterprise of Pisa, and gloriously conquered that citie. They continued then quiet within, from the yeare 1400 till 33, saving that in the yeare 1412 the Alberti, having broken their confines, a Balia was chosen, wherby new ordinances were made to assure the state, and impose greater paiments

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The death of
Ladislao king
of Naples.

upon them. In that time also, the Florentines made war to Ladislao King of Napoli, which was ended by the death of the King: in the yeare 1414. In execution whereof, the King finding himselfe the weaker, yeelded to the Florentines the citie of Cortona, where he was Lord. Yet shortly after he revived the warre, which proved more dangerous then the former. And had the same not bene, as the other, ended by the Duke of Milans death, he had also brought the libertie of our citie into that daunger, that by the Duke it had bene. Neither did this war of the Kings end, with lesser adventure then the other. For when he had surprized Rome, Siena, La Marca, and Romagna, and that he wanted nothing, but Florence to passe with a mightie force into Lombardy, hee died. So as, death was ever more friendly to the Florentines, then any other friend: and of more power to defend them, then any other vertue. After the death of this King, the citie continued quiet without and within eight yeares. In the end of which time, with the warres of Philipppo Duke of Milan, the factions were revived: and continued til the ruine of that state, which from 1380 had bene governed, and with much glorie, enterprised many warres, and brought under the Empire thereof, Arezzo, Piso, Cortona, Livorno, and Monte Pulciano. And would have done greater things, had the citie continued united, and the old humors not bene revived. As in the next booke shall particulerly be declared.

NICHOLO MACCHIAVELLI

THE FOURTH BOOKE



ALL Cities (and chiefly they which be well governed under the name of Common-weales) doo often alter their state and government: not by meanes of libertie and subjection (as many imagine) but by meane of servitude and lycentiousnesse. For onely the name of libertie is honoured of the people, who are the ministers of lycentiousnesse, and servitude still sought for by the Nobilitie: so as either of them do studie not to subject themselves, either to lawes or men. True it is, that when it happeneth (as sildome it doth) that by good fortune of some Citie, there riseth up therein, a wise, good, and mightie Citizen, of whome such lawes be made, as these humours of the Nobilitie, and of the people, be kept quiet (or at the least so restrained as they cannot doo evill) then may that Cittie be called free, and that state firme and stable. For being builded upon good lawes, and good orders, it needeth not afterwarde the vertue of anie man to uphold it. Of such lawes and orders, manie auncient Common-weales (whose estates continued long) were endowed. Such orders and lawes, those states wanted, and doo want, which have oft times chaunged their government from states tyrannicall, to licentious, and from licentious, to tyrannicall. And in them by meane of their mightie enemies, there is not, nor cannot be anie stabilitie at all: because the one pleaseth not the good men, and the other offendeth the wise men. The one may do evill with facilitie, the other can do good with difficultie. In the one insolent men, in the other, fooles have too much authoritie. And

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therefore, it behoveth, that both the one and the other, by the vertue and fortune of some excellent man be maintained: who either by death may be taken away, or by adversitie prove unprofitable. I say therefore, that government which had the beginning in Florence by the death of Georgio Scali, in the yeare 1381, proceeded first from the vertue of Masso delli Albizi, and after was by Nicholo di Uzano continued. The Cittie lived quiet from the yeare 1314 till the 22. At which time, the King Ladislao was dead, and the state of Lombardy into partes divided. So that neither without nor within, there was any thing that could breede diffidence or mistrust. Next to Nicholo di Uzano, the Citizens of most authoritie, were Bartolomeo Valori, Nerone di Nigi, Rinaldo degli Albizi, Neri di Guio, and Lapo Nicolini. The factions which grew, by the discord of the Albizi and Ricci, and after with great troubles by Salvestro di Medici revived, were never quenched. And albeit the partie most favoured of the multitude, raigned not above 3 yeares, and in the yere 1381 the same was oppressed: yet that humor having infected the greater number of the people, could not be utterly quenched. True it is, that the often contentions, and persecutions of the chief captains from the 1381 til the 1400 brought the factions wel near to nothing. The families most persecuted were the Albizi, Ricci, and Medici. Those houses were diverse times spoyled, both of their men and substance, and if any of them remained in the citie, their honours and offices were taken from them. Which oppression made that part base minded, and (as it were) utterly trodden downe. Notwithstanding, there remained in many men, a certaine memorie of injuries received, and a desire to revenge them. Yet wanting power to performe their will, they kept that desire within their breasts, secretly hidden. Those of the populer Nobilitie, who peaceably governed the citie, committed two errors, which were the causes of their ruine. The one through their insolency, which grew by continuall authoritie and being in office. The other, through envie among themselves, and the long holding the state in their hands, they did not prevent those that might offend them: but daily renuing the universall hatred by their sinister proceedings, nor remooving the matter that

Error committed by the populer nobilitie.

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might hurt and was to be feared, were the causes that the house of Medici recovered authoritie.

THE
FOURTH
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The first of them that begun to stand up, was Giovanni, the sonne of Bicci. He, become exceeding rich, and being of nature curteous, and affable, was with the allowance of those that governed, ascended to the highest office. Whereat the multitude so greatly rejoyced (supposing to have gotten a protector) that the wiser sort conceived some just cause of suspition: because thereby they found all the old humors begun to arise. And Nicholo di Usano failed not to advertise the other Citizens, how daungerous a thing it was to advance one, who had among the multitude, so much reputation: saying, it was easie to oppresse any inconvenience at the first, but letting it growe, the remedie was hardly found. For hee knew well, that in Giovanni, there were many more excellent partes, then in Salvestro. Nicholo could not be heard of his companions: because they envied his reputation, and sought for assistance to oppresse him. Men thus living in Florence, be set with contrary humours, (which secretly began to boyle within their breasts) Philippo Visconti second sonne of Giovan Ghalazzo, being by the death of his brother, become Lord of all Lombardy, and devising upon some enterprise, desired greatly to be againe owner of Genova, which at that present under Tomazo Frogolo lived in libertie. Yet feared he could neither compasse that nor any other thing, unlesse first hee published a new accord with the Florentines: the reputation whereof, (as hee thought) might bring him to satisfaction. For which purpose, hee sent Embassadours to Florence: who beeing there, and perswading the league, it was by many Cittizens thought unfit to joyne with him, and yet they wished that the peace which had many yeares continued, should still endure. For they knewe what favoure and reputation the league would doo him, and how small profit the citie should receive thereof. To others it was thought good, that the league should be made, thereby to procure the Duke to enter conditions and bondes, which if he passed, every man might discover his evill intent, and should (if he brake the peace) the more justly make warre upon him. Thus (the matter being thoroughly debated)

Advice of
Nicolò Uzano
against the
Medici.

League betwixt
the Florentins
and the Duke
of Milan.

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the peace was concluded. Wherein Philipppo promised, that hee would not entermedle with anie thing on this side the Rivers of Magra and Panaro.

After this conclusion Philipppo surprized Brescia, and shortly after Genova, contrary to the opinion of those that had perswaded the peace. For they beleaved that Brescia had bene defended by the Venetians, and Genova could have defended it selfe. And because in the league which Philipppo had made with the Doge of Genova, he had reserved Serezana, and other Townes on this sides Magra, with condition that if he solde them, hee then to sell them to the Genovesi, the league was broken. Besides this, hee made peace with the Legate of Bologna. Which things, altered the mindes of our Citizens, and made them (doubting newe mischiefes) to looke for newe remedies. These suspitions come to the eare of Filippo, either to gratifie, or feele the disposition of the Florentines, or else to abuse them, sent Ambassadors unto Florence, and by them signified, how he marvelled much at the suspition conceived, and therewith offered to renounce everie thing by him done, whereof anie mistrust might grow: which Ambassadors wrought none other effect, then division of the citie. For the one part, (and those that were most reputed in the government) thought good to arme, and prevent the enemy. Notwithstanding if Filippo stood quiet, there should be no war at all, and in the meane time, that provision was an occasion of peace. Many others, either envying those that governed, or fearing the warre, judged that it was no wise-dome, lightly to become suspicious: neither were things by Philipppo done, worthie to be suspected. But they knew wel, that to elect the Ten, and to hire souldiers, promised warre: which being taken in hand against so great a Prince, should be the ruine of the citie, without hope of any profit. For of his victories (having Romagna in the midst) we could not receive good, nor become Princes of that country. And of Romagna it self (by reason of the neernesse of the church) they could not think to become owners. Notwithstanding, the authoritie of those that would make preparation for war, prevailed before the other, that desired peace. And therefore they created the Ten, hired souldiers, and imposed

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Subsidies. Which proceedings (because they burthened more the lesse, then greater Cittizens) filled the cittie with sorrow, and every man blamed the ambition and authoritie of the great men, accusing them, that to fulfill their appetites, and oppresse the people, they would make a warre not necessary. Yet was not the Duke come to manifest breach, but every thing was full of suspition. For Philippo, at the request of the Legate of Bologna (who feared Antonio Bentivogli banished, and remaining at the Castle Bolognese) had sent men to that citie: which beeing neare the dominion of Florence, held the state in mistrust. But that which most amazed everie man, and gave much cause to discover the warre, was the enterprise of the Duke at Furli.

Georgio Ordilaffi, was Lord of Furli, who dying, left Tibaldo his sonne, under protection of Philippo. And albeit the mother, supposing the Duke to be a Tutor unfit, and therefore sent her childe to Lodovico Alidossi her father, Lord of Imola, yet was she forced by the people to observe her husbands testament, and commit him to the Dukes hands. Then Philippo to make himselfe the lesse suspected, and the rather also to cover his intent, devised that the Marquisse of Farrara should send Guido Torello with some forces, to be his deputie, and take the government of Furli. Thus came that towne into the possession of Philippo, which being knowne in Florence, together with the newes of the souldiers come to Bologna, made the resolution for the war the more speedie, notwithstanding it had before great contradiction, and Giovan de Medici publicly spake against it, saying, that although he were certaine of the Dukes evil disposition, yet were it better that hee should march first, then they go towards him: for so the war should be justifiable, in the judgement of other princes: neither could we so boldly aske aid, as we might after that his ambition was discovered. Also, men wold with an other mind defend their own, then assault the goods of others. To the contrary, was said, it were not good to tarry for the enemy at home, but rather go seeke him. And fortune was more friend to him that assaulteth, then to him that defendeth. Moreover with lesse losse (though with more charge) the war is made far from home, then neare at hand.

Consultation
in Florence.

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In the end, this opinion prevailed. And resolution was set down, that the Ten should devise some means how the city of Furli might be recovered from the Duke.

Philippo seeing that the Florentines went about to surprise those things which he had taken in hand to defend, set respects apart, and sent Agnolo della Pergola with great forces to Imola, to the end, that prince, having occasion to defend his own, should not think upon his grandchild. Agnolo arrived neare Imola, (the forces of the Florentines being also at Magdigliana) the weather frostie, and the towne diches frozen, in the night, by stealth, surprised the towne, and sent Lodovico prisoner to Milan. The Florentines seeing Imola lost, and the warre discovered, commaunded their men to go unto Furli, and on everie side besieged that citie. Also to the end that all the Dukes forces should not come to rescue it, they hired the Earle Alberigo, who from his towne Zagonara issued out, spoyling the country even to the gates of Imola. Agnola della Pergola, finding he could not with securitie succour Furli, by reason of the strength where our Campe laie, thought good to besiege Zagonara, thinking that the Florentines would not lose that place, and if they did relieve it, then of force they must abandon Furli, and fight with disadvantage. The Dukes forces then enforced Alberigo to demaund composition, which was graunted; he promising to yeeld the towne at any time, if within fifteene daies, it were not rescued by the Florentines. This disorder knowne in the Florentines Campe and in the Citie, and everie man desirous to prevent the enemye of that victorie, occasioned them to have a greater. For their Campe being departed from Furli to succour Zagonara, and entercounting the enemye was overthrowne: not so much through vertue of the adversarie, as the unhappinesse of the weather. For, our men having diverse houres marched in the deepe myre and raine, found the enemies fresh, and for that reason by them were vanquished. Notwithstanding, in so great an overthrow published through all Italy, there died no more then Lodovico degli Obizi, with two others, who fallen from their horse were myred to death. All the citie of Florence at this overthrow, became sad: and chiefly the great Citizens

The Florentines overthrowne.

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who had counselled the warre. For they sawe the enimie brave, their selves disarmed, without friends, and the people against them: who murmured, and with injurious words, complained of the great Impositions and Subsidies, they had paid to the maintenance of the warre taken in hand, without any cause or occasion. Saying moreover, now they having created the Ten, to terrifie the enimie, have succoured Furli, and taken it from the Duke. Thus do they bewraie their Councils to what end they are: not to defend the libertie, but encrease their own power, which God justly hath diminished. Neither have they only burthened the citie with this enterprise, but with many others: for like to this, was that against King Ladislao. To whome will they now resort for aide? To Pope Martine? who hath bene in their sight trodden upon by Braccio? To the Queene Giovanna? she was by them abandoned, and forced to put her selfe upon the King of Aragon. Besides these contumelies, they repeated all such injurious reproves, as a people offended, could imagine. It was therefore thought good to the Senators, to assemble a good number of Citizens, and with curteous speech appease the humours mooved in the multitude.

Then Rinaldo degli Albizi, eldest sonne of Masso, (who with his owne vertue, and the memorie of his father, aspired to the chief honour of the citie) declared at large: that it was no wisdom to judge enterprises by their successe. Because many things well devised, have had no good end, and others evil devised, have good. Also, if evil counsels having good successe, should be commended, the same wold encourage men to commit errors, which would prove to great disadvantage of the Commonweale: for it ever falleth out, that evill counsels be unfortunate. In like maner they erred, to blame a wise counsell, that hath no desired end: for thereby they discouradge the Citizens to counsell the citie, and saie frankly, what they knew or understood. Then he shewed the necessitie of that war, and how if it had not bene begun in Romagna, it should have bene in Toscana. But sith it pleased God that their forces be overthrowne, the losse should be the lesse, if the enterprise were not abandoned. For if they would still shewe their faces to

The speech of
Rinaldo de
Albizi to
appeaze the
people.

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Fortune, and endeavour themselves to recover that was lost, neither should they finde any losse, nor the Duke any victorie. They ought also not to repine at the charge or Impositions that should be laid upon them, because those payments which they had made, were reasonable, and the rest that should after be imposed would not bee so great. For lesse preparation is required for them that defend, then those that will offend. In the end, he perswaded them to imitate their auncestors, who by being in everie adversitie courageous, did defend themselves against all Princes whatsoever.

Braccio.
Piccinino.

The Citizens encouraged with the authoritie of this man, entertained the Earle Oddo sonne of Braccio, with whom they joyned Nicholo Piccinino, brought up under Braccio, a man most esteemed of all those that served under his Ensigne, and under them they appointed other leaders. Also of their owne forces lately broken, some Captaines of horse men remained. Moreover they elected twentie Citizens to impose new Subsidies, who being encouraged with seeing the greatest Citizens oppressed by the late overthrow, imposed upon them without respect. This imposition much grieved the great Cittizens, yet not to declare themselves unwilling, at the first, shewed no private offence: but generally blamed the matter, giving their advise, that the Impositions might cease; which being knowne to many, tooke no effect in the Councils: and thereupon to occasion these repiners feele the smart of their counsell, and make the matter more odious, they ordered, that the Imposers should proceed with all severitie, and have authoritie to kill any man that should withstand the publike officers. Whereof followed many foule accidents, by murthering and hurting of the Citizens. In so much, as the factions came to blood: and everie wise man feared future mischiefes. Because, the great men (who were used to respect) could not endure to be laide hand uppon: and others were not content that everie man should equally be burthened. Many of the chiefe Citizens therefore assembled themselves, and concluded, that it behoved them to take the government into their hands: because their small diligence had given head, and suffered the publike proceedings to be reproved: allowing overmuch

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boldnesse in those that were wont to be heads of the multitude. Having to this effect consulted, they determined manie times to meete all together; and in the church of S. Steffano assembled more then 70 Citizens, with the lycence and allowance of Lorenzo Ridolfi, and Francesco Gianfigliazzi, who at that time were of the Senate.

To this convention, Giovanni de Medici came not, either because he was as a suspect, uncalled, or that hee would not (being of contrary opinion) appeare. But Rinaldo delli Albizi, as mouth of that companie, discoursed the estate of the citie, and how by their negligence it was come to the hand of the multitude, from whome in the yeare 1381, by their auncestors it was taken: putting them in minde of the iniquitie that raigned in that state, from the yeare 77 till 81. And how sith that time, till this present, some had their fathers slaine, some their grandfathers, and now were returned to the selfesame perils, and the citie fallen to the like disorders; because the multitude had alreadie at their pleasure imposed Subsidies: and wold ere long, (if the same were not by a greater force or better order withstood) appoint the Magistrates. Which being brought to passe, the multitude would usurpe their places, and ruine that state, which had bene with much glorie of the cittie fortie and two yeares continued: and Florence should be governed either casually, under the will of the multitude (so as one part should live lycentiously, the other daungerously) or under the commandement of some one that shall make him selfe Prince of all. Wherefore he assured them, that everie man that loved his country, and his owne honour, was constrained to beware: and put them in minde of the vertue of Bardo Mancini, who with the ruine of the Alberti; saved the citie from those perils wherein it then was: and that occasion of boldnesse in the multitude, proceeded of the large Squittini, which were by their negligence made: which was the cause also that the Pallace was filled with new men and people of base condition. He therefore concluded that the only remedie was, to yeeld the government to the great Citizens, and remove the lesse Artificers from their authoritie: reducing them from 14 to 7 companies. Which should be a meane that the multitude could have in

Rinaldo di
Albizi.

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the Councels lesse authoritie: as well in respect, that the number of them were diminished, as that the great men should have most power, who for the old enmity did dis-favour the multitude, affirming likewise that to know how to employ men, according to the time was great wisdom. For as their ancestors used the multitude to oppresse the insolency of the great men (who thereby became humble and the multitude insolent) so it were now fit to bridle the insolencie thereof, with the aide of the great men. And for compassing of these matters they might resort either to subiltie or force. For some of them beeing of the Tenne, by that colour might bring men secretly into the citie.

This counsell given by Rinaldo, was by every man allowed. And Nicholo of Uzano among other, said; that all things alledged by Rinaldo were true, and the remedies good and certaine, if the same might be done without manifest division of the citie: which would come to passe if Giovan de Medici, were not perswaded from them. For hee being on our side, the multitude without head and force, could not offend. But if he wold not consent, without armes it could not be. And with armes it were daungerous, for either they should not prevaile, or not enjoy the victory. Also, modestly he reduced to their memories, his former admonitions, and how they refused to prevent these difficulties, when they might. But now the time served not to do it, without hazarding a greater mischiefe, and therefore, as the uttermost refuge, it behoved to gaine his favour. Commission therfore was granted for Rinaldo, to goe unto Giovanni, and perswade him to be of their minde. This Gentleman performed his Commission, and with the best reasons he was able, perswaded him to enter with them into this action, and that he would not for the love of the multitude become insolent, to the ruine of the state, and citie. Wherto Giovanni answered, that he thought it the office of a wise and good Citizen, not to alter the accustomed orders of the citie, because there was nothing that so much offended men, as alteration, sith thereby many be offended, and where many live discontented, some evill accident is daily to be looked for. Also hee thought, that this their resolution might worke two effects verie dangerous. The one by

The answer
of Giovanni
di Medici to
Rinaldo.

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giving the honours to those, who never before having them, would not much esteeme them, and should have the lesse occasion to complaine, if they never had them. The other by taking the honours from those that were used to have them, should make them unquiet till they were restored. And so shall the injurie done to the one part, be greater, then the benefit, which the other part could thereby receive. Thus shall the authour of this change, win few friends, and many enemies: and these will be more ready to offend him, then the others to defend him. For men are more naturally inclined to revenge an injury, then be thankful for a good turne: because this bringeth losse, but that promiseth profit and pleasure. Then turning his face towards Rinaldo, saide. And you sir, if you remember matters passed and with what subtilties men walk within this citie, your self would be more lowe in these resolutions. For the giver of that counsell, so soone as with your forces he hath taken away the authoritie of the people, would againe take the same from you, by the aide of those, who by this meane of injurie, will become your foes. And it will befall to you as it did to Benedetto Alberti, who (through the perswasions of him that loved him not) consented to the ruine of Georgio Scali and Tomazo Strozzi: and shortly after, by the selfesame men that perswaded him, was sent into exile. Hee therefore wished him more naturally to thinke upon matters, and be willing to follow his father, who having love of the multitude, cared not to offend a fewe men evill disposed. It was then ordained that whosoever had to paie halfe a Florine for Subsidie, should paie it, or not: as himselfe pleased. And besides all men indebted, should for the day of the councell goe free, with out molestation of his creditors. In the end he concluded, that for his owne part, he would leave the cittie in that order and estate, it presently remained.

These matters thus handled, were understood abroad, and the same gave great reputation to Giovanni and hatred to the other cittizens. Neverthelesse hee discontinued all affaires, the rather to discourage those, that under his favour intended new practises. Also, in all his communication, hee let everie man to understand that hee would not nourish, but extinguish factions. And for himselfe,

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he desired nothing but the union of the citie: yet were manie that followed him, therewith discontented. For divers of them did perswade him to be in those matters more quick: of which number was Alamanno de medici, who being fierce of nature, ceased not to sollicite him to persecute their enemies, and favour friends, blaming his coldnesse, and slow maner of proceeding. Which was (as he alledged) occasion that their foes without respect, practised against him. Which one daie would take effect, with the ruine of his house and friends. To the same effect, was hee encouraged, by Cosimo his sonne. Yet notwithstanding all these reasons to him revealed or prognosticated, hee stood firme in his intent, and by that meanes the faction became discovered, and the cittie in manifest division.

At that time were in the Pallace two Chauncellors, one called Ser Martino, and the other Ser Pagolo. This favoured the parte of Uzano, that of Medici. Rinaldo seeing that Giovanni refused to concurre with them, thought fit to deprive Ser Martino of his office, hoping afterwards to finde the Pallace more favourable. That practise foreseene by the adversaries, Martino was defended; and Pagalo with sorrow and injury of his friends remooved: which had presently wrought bad effects, if the present warre had not bene, and the citie by the overthrow received at Zagonara, terrified. During the time that these matters were managed in Florence, Agnola della Pergola had with the Dukes forces taken all the townes which the Florentines possessed in Romagna (Castaro and Modigliana excepted) some of them beeing lost by the weakenesse of the place, and others by the default of those, that had them in garde. In the surprizing of these townes, two notable things appeared. The first, how much the vertue of men even to their enemies, is acceptable. The other, how greatly cowardice and fainte heart, is contemned. Biagio of Milan, was Captaine of the fortesse called Montepetroso. He being environed with fire and enemies, not finding any meanes how to defend his charge, or escape with life, cast over the wall (where no fire yet burned) certaine cloathes and strawe, and upon the same his owne two children, and said to his enemies; Take you here those goods which fortune hath given me, and you

Biagio of
Milan.

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have power to bereave me of, but my riches of minde wherein glorie and my honour lieth, neither will I give them, nor you can take them from me. The enemies ran to save the poore children, and offered him roapes and ladders to convey himselfe downe safe. But he refused all succours, chusing rather to die in fire, then receive a life from the enemies of his country. An example truly like to those, of the auncient time so highly commended. And is the more notable, that such resolutions are but rare. The children were by the enemies restored to all thinges that were theirs, and could be found: and with great care conveyed to their friends, to whom their countrey also was no lesse kinde. For (during their lives) they were publikely releevd and mainteined. The contrary happened in Zanobi Pino. Galeata, where Zanobi di Pino was Podesta. For he without any defence, yeelded his charge to the enemy: and besides perswaded Agnolo to abandon the Alpes of Romagna, and come into the hilles of Toscana, where he might make warre with lesse perill, and more profit. But Agnolo could not endure the cowardice and base mind of that man, and therefore gave him prisoner to his servants, who in contempt, and disdaine allowed him no more foode, but painted cards, saying, by that means they would make him of a Guelfo to become a Ghibellino. But within a few daies, Pino pined to death.

In this meane time the Earle Oddo together with Nicholo Piccinino was entred into the vale of Lamona, to reduce the Lord of Faenza to the friendship of the Florentines, or at the least to empeach Agnola della Pergola in the spoile of Romagna. Yet by reason that vale is strong, and the country people warlike, it chaunced that Oddo was slaine, and Nicholo Piccinino ledde prisoner to Faenza. But fortune would, that the Florentines obtained that by this losse, which if they had woon the victorie should percase never have bene compassed. For Nicholo being prisoner, wrought so with the Lord of Faenza and his mother, that they by his perswasion became friendes to the Florentines. By this league Nicholo Piccinino was delivered, but folowed not that counsel he gave to others. For whiles he comoned with the cities that entertained him, either for that

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Piccinino re-
volted from
the league.

the conditions he had made seemed over meane, or that he hoped of better elsewhere, suddenly without leave taking, departed from Arezzo where hee lodged, and went into Lombardy, and there tooke paie of the Duke. The Florentines by this accident became fearefull: and being dismayd with their charges lost, thought they could not alone maintaine the warre, and therefore sent Embassadours to the Venetians, desiring them while the enterprise was easie, to joyne against one, who being suffered to grow, might become as dangerous to them as to the Florentines. To the same enterprise also Francesco Carmignuola did perswade them, who was in those dayes accounted a man of warre most excellent, and had bene sometimes a souldier under the Duke, yet at that time, rebelled against him. The Venetians stood doubtfull, not knowing how much they might trust Carmignuola, fearing that the enmitie betwixt the Duke and him was but fained. They thus standing doubtfull, it happened that the Duke procured one of the servants of Carmignuola to poyson his maister: which poyson not being strong inough, killed him not, but brought him to extremitie. This being knowne to the Venetians, cleared all suspicion: and the Florentines following their request, the league was made betwixt them, either partie binding himselfe to make warre at their common charge: and that whatsoever were gotten in Lombardy should be the Venetians, and whatsoever were possessed in Romagna, should be the Florentines, and Carmignuola to continue General of the league. Then was the war by mean of this league brought into Lombardy, and by Carmignuola governed with so great vertue, that in fewe moneths he had taken many townes from the Duke: together with the Citie of Brescia, the winning whereof (in those dayes, and in those warres) was accounted marvellous.

Carmignuola
generall for
the league.

This warre was continued five yeares and the Citizens become wearie of the Impositions already past, agreed to renew them, and provided the same might be imposed according to the value of everie mans wealth. In this Imposition, it fell out, that many mightie Cittizens were sore charged. And therefore, before the lawe passed, it became of them misliked. Onely Giovanni di Medici openly

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did commend it, by which commendation, the lawe passed. And because in the excution thereof, every mans goods were charged (which the Florentines called Accastare) the Imposition was called Catasto. This law partly bridled the tirannie of the mightier Citizens, being thereby restrained from oppression of their inferiours, and their threatnings and counsels could not hold them silent, as before they might. That Imposition therfore was by the multitude willingly, but by the mighty citizens, verie unwillingly, received. Notwithstanding (as it ever happeneth) that men be never satisfied; but having the thing they wish for, desire an other: so this people not content with this equalitie of Imposition by lawe, required that no respect should be had to time past, but desired to examine how much the great men (according to the Catasto) had paide too little, because they would have them to be charged as themselves had before bene; who paying more then they ought, were forced to sell their possessions. This demaund, did more terrifie the great men, then the Catasto, therfore they ceased not to find fault, affirming it was most unjust, that the imposition should extend to their moveables, which many times were one day possessed, and the next day lost. And moreover many men had money so secretly kept, that the Catasto could not find it. Adding thereto, that for service of the state, they omitted their private busines, and therefore ought be the lesse charged. For travelling in their persons, it was no reason that the citie should imploy both their goods and their industry, and of other men take onely their goods. The others (to whom the Catasto contented) did answere that if the goods moveable did varie, the Impositions might also varie, and so that inconvenience was remedied. And for goods concealed or hidden, therof it was not needfull to make accompt, for of such monies as are not occupied to profit, no reason would they should pay. And if they would imploy them, then should they thereby discover them. Moreover, if they liked no longer to use their industrie for the Common weale, they might at their pleasures leave those paines, and that travell. For the state should find other good Citizens willing to helpe and serve, both with their counsell and substaunce.

Catasto.

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Also the government carried therewith so many commodities and honors, as the same might suffice them that governed, without deteining their impositions. But the grieffe lay not where they alledged. For it greeved them that they could not make warre without their owne losse, being to contribute to the charge as others did. As if this way had bene before found, the warre with King Ladislao should not have bene then, nor this warre with the Duke now. Both which warres were made to enrich the Citizens, and not for necessitie.

These humors stirred, were appeased by Giovan de Medici, declaring that it was not well done, to call againe matters passed, but rather to foresee future events. And if the Impositions before time were unjust, then ought they to thanke God for that warre, whereby they were made just, and that this order might serve to reunite, not to devide the citie: as it would, if passed Impositions were called in question, to make the present seasement: because whosoever is content with a reasonable victorie, doth best, seeing they that be enforced to pay for many pardons, do therby become desperate. With these or like wordes, hee appeased the humours, and the comparing of the old Impositions, with the new. The warre with the Duke yet continued, but shortly after a peace was made at Ferrara, by mediation of the Popes Legate. The conditions wherof, were by the Duke at the beginning broken. So that they of the league tooke armes againe, and joyning battle with the Duke at Maclovio, they overthrew him. After which overthrow, the Duke mooved new communication of peace, whereto the Venetians and Florentines consented. These because they suspected the Venetians, and thought they spent much to make others mightie. The other, for that, since the overthrow, they perceived Carmignuola to proceede slowly, and therefore feared to repose any trust in him. The peace therefore was concluded the yeare 1428 whereby the Florentines recovered the townes lost in Romagna, and Brescia remained in the hands of the Venetians. Besides these, the Duke gave them Bergamo with the country thereto belonging. In this warre the Florentines spent three millions and five thousand duckats. But the Venetians gained land and

Peace betwixt
the League
and the Duke.

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force: and they povertie and division. The peace thus made abroad, the warre at home began. And the great Citizens not enduring the Catasto, not knowing by what meane to be free from it, devised to make the lawe to have more enimies, thereby to have companions to repress it. Then they declared to the officers of the Imposition, that the lawe commaunded them also to seaze the Townes subject, to see, if among them remained any Florentines goods. Thereupon all subjects were commaunded within a certaine time to bring in bils of their goods. Then the inhabitants of Volterra sent unto the Senate to complayne of that matter, insomuch that the officers put xviii of them in prison. This made the Volterrani much offended, yet for the respect they had to their prisoners, they rebelled not.

At this time Giovanni de Medici fell sicke, and knowing his disease mortall, called unto him his sonnes Cosimo and Lorenzo, and sayd unto them: I thinke now to have lived so long, as at my birth God and nature had appoynted. I dye content, because I leave you rich, healthie, and in estate (if you follow my footesteps) to live in Florence honorablie, and favoured of all men: For, there is nothing that maketh me dye so contented, as to remember, that I have never offended any man, but rather (so farre as I could) pleased all men. So do I perswade you (if you will live securely) to take of the State no more then by the lawes, and by men is given you, which shall never bring with it, either envie or perill. For that which is woon by violence, not that which is given freely, doth make men hated. And you shall find many coveting an other mans, to lose their owne, and before that losse, live in continuall disquiet of mind. With these rules among so manie enemyes, and contrarieties of opinions, I have not onely maynteyned, but also encreased my reputation in this cittie. Even so, if you follow my course, you shall in like sort maynteyne and augment your credit. But when you do otherwise, looke that your end shall be no more fortunate then theirs, who have ruyned themselves, and undone their houses. Shortly after these words pronounced, he tooke leave of life, and was much lamented by the greatest number of Citizens, for so his excellent vertues deserved. This Giovanni was

The speech of
Cosimo de
Medici at his
death.

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charitable, and accustomed to give almes not onely to them that asked, but also many times unasked. He bestowed reliefe on the poore, where need required. He loved every man, praying the good, and pittying the evill. He never desired offices, yet had he them all, he went not at any time to the Pallace uncalled, he loved peace, and shunned warre, he relieved men in adversitie, and furthered them in prosperitie. He medled not with publique extortion, but encreased the common profit. He was in office curteous, of no great eloquence, but singuler wise. His complexion seemed melancholy, yet was he in conversation pleasant and merrie. He died rich in treasure, but more rich of love, and good report: which inheritance aswell in goods of fortune as of mind, was by Cosimo not only preserved, but also enlarged.

Volterra
rebelled.

Giusto
usurped
Volterra.

The Volterani being wearie of imprisonment, promised to condescend to that which was demaunded. They then being delivered, and returned to Volterra, found the time come for the election of new Priori. Among whom was chosen one just man, a base fellow, yet of credit among the multitude, and was in the number of those that had ben prisoners in Florence. He being moved with the injurie offred both in publique and private by the Florentines, was encouraged by one Giovanni a noble man (who also sate in office with him) to stirre the people with the authority of the Priori and his owne credit, to take the towne from the Florentines, and make himselfe Prince thereof. By whose perswasion this Giusto (for so he was called) tooke armes, ransacked the towne, imprisoned the Captayne of the Florentines, and made him selfe by consent of the people, Lord thereof. This new matter happened in Volterra, greatly displeased the Florentines. Yet having lately made peace with the Duke, they imagined a time was come to recover it. And not omitting oportunitie, they sodeinly sent thither Rinaldo degli Albizi, and Palla Strozzi, as their Comissaries. Giusto in the meane space, supposing the Florentines would assault him, prayed ayd of the Sanesi and Lucchesi. The Sanesi denyed him, saying they were in league with the Florentines. And Pagolo Guinigi Lord of Lucca, to recover the favoure of the Florentine

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people (which in the Dukes warres he feared to have lost) did not onely refuse to ayde Giusto, but also sent his messenger prisoner to Florence. These commissaries in the meane space, to come unlooked for of the Volterani, assembled all their men of Armes, and in the neather Valderno, and the Province of Pisa, leavyed many footemen, from whence they marched to Volterra. Neyther did Giusto for being abandoned of his neighbours, nor the assault of the Florentines, abandon himselfe: but trusting to the strength of the Scite, and the greatnes of the Towne, prepared for defence.

Pagolo
Guinigi Lord
of Lucca.

There was at that time in Volterra, one called Arcolano, brother to Giovanni, who had perswaded Giusto to take the government, a man among the Nobilitie of good reputation. He, assembling his friends, declared how God by this accident had supplied the necessitie of their Cittie. For now if they were pleased to take armes, remove Giusto from the Senate, and restore the Cittie to the Florentines, they should thereby become chiefe of their Cittie, and continue their auncient priuiledges. These men consenting to the enterprise, went to the Pallace where this Lord Giusto remayned: some of them also being left belowe, Arcolano with three others went up, and finding him with some other Cittizens, drew him aside, as though he had to speake with him in some earnest matter, so enterteyning him from chamber to chamber, till he came to the place where the rest of the companie remayned. Yet were they not so suddein, but that Giusto drew his sword, and before himselfe was slayne, hurt two of them. Notwithstanding, in the end unable to resist so manie, was murthered, and cast out of the Pallace. Then all the rest of the conspiracie with Arcolano tooke Armes, and gave the Towne to the Commissaries for the Florentines, who were with Souldiers neere at hand. They, without other capitulation, entered the Towne, whereby the Volterani made their condition worse then before. For among other things, they dismembred the greater part of the Countrey, and was reduced to Vicariato. Thus Volterra, as it were at one instant lost, and recovered, no occasion of new warre remayned, had not the ambition of men bene cause thereof.

Giusto slaine.

Volterra
recovered by
the Floren-
tines.

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There served long time the Florentines in their warres against the Duke of Milan, one called Nicholo Fortibracchio, sonne to one of the sisters of Braccio di Perugia. He after the peace made, was by the Florentines discharged, and at such time as this chance happened at Volterra was lodged at Fucecchio, whereby the Commissaries in that enterprise employed him and his Souldiers. It was supposed that at such time as Rinaldo travelled with him in that warre, he perswaded Nicholo under some fayned quarrell to assault the Lucchesi, saying, that if he would goe against Lucca, he should be made Generall of the journey. Volterra thus surprized, and Nicholo returned home to Fucecchio, either by perswasion of Rinaldo, or of his owne will, in November, the yeare 1429 with 300 horse, and 300 footemen, surprized Ruoti and Compito, Castles belonging to the Lucchesi, and after came into the Countrey, and there made great spoyle. The newes of this enterprise published at Florence, many people assembled in divers places of the Cittie, and the greater number wished that Lucca might be assaulted. The great Cittizens that favoured the enterprise were those of the faction of Medici, and with them joyned Rinaldo, thereto perswaded, either because he thought the enterprise profitable to the common-weale, or else for his owne ambition, hoping to have the honor of the victorie. Those that disfavoured the attempt, were Nicholo de Uzano, and his followers. And it seemeth a thing incredible, that so great contrarietie should be in one Cittie, touching the making of a warre. For those Cittizens, and that people, who after tenne yeeres of peace blamed the warre against the Duke Philipppo, for defence of their libertie: now after so great expences, and so much affliction of the Cittie, withall earnestly desired to make a new warre against Lucca, and to usurpe the libertie of others. On the other side, those that desired the first warre, found fault with this motion, so greatly did the opinions of men alter with time; for the multitude seemeth more readie to take from others, then keepe their owne. Also, men are more moved with hope of winning, then feare of losing: For this feare is not beleevd, till it be neere at hand, but that hope, is hoped for, although farre off.

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The people of Florence was full of hope, both by the victories they had obteyned, and by letters sent unto Fortebraccio from the Rettori neere to Lucca. For the Deputies of Pescia and of Vico did write, that if they might have leave to receive those Castles, they would be delivered to them, and by that meanes all the Countrey of Lucca should be gayned. Besides these good newes, the Lord of Lucca sent his Ambassador to Florence, to complayne of the spoyles committed by Nicholo, desiring the Senate, not to move warre against their neighbours, and a Citie that had ever been friend to the Florentines. This Ambassador was called Jacopo Viviani. He not long before had been kept prisoner with Pagolo for a conspiracie against him : whereof although he were guiltie, yet was his life saved. And Pagolo supposing that Jacopo had likewise forgotten the injurie, put him in trust. But Jacopo remembring more the perill he had passed, then the benefite he received, being arrived in Florence, secretly encouraged the Cittizens, to proceed in the enterprise : which encouragement, joyned to other hope, was the cause that the Senate assembled a Councell, wherein were foure hundred ninetie eight Cittizens, before whome, by the principall men of the Cittie, the matter was debated. Among the chiefe that perswaded the journey (as is before sayd) was Rinaldo, who alleadged the profite that might ensue of victorie. Hee also declared the occasion of the enterprise, and how the Lucchesi were abandoned by the Venetians and the Duke. And that the Pope (being busied in the affayres of the Kingdome) could not succour them. Thereto he remembred how easie it was to winne the Cittie, being in subjection to one Cittizen, whereby it had lost that naturall strength and auntient care to defend the libertie. So that, either by meane of the people, who studied to drive out the Tyrant, or the Tyrants feare of them, the successe was not to be doubted. Hee likewise layd before them the injuries which that Lord had done to our Common-wealth, and his evill disposition towards the same : And how dangerous a thing it were if the Pope or the Duke should make warre, concluding, that no enterprise attempted by the people of Florence, was ever more easie or more just.

A warre
against Lucca
perswaded by
Ri. de Albizi.

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The perswasion of
Ni. de Uzano
to the contrary.

Against this perswasion, Nicholo de Uzano sayde, that Florence did never take in hand any thing more unjust, nor more perilous, nor whereof more daunger might followe. First, they should goe about to offend a Cittie affectionate to the Guelfi, and such a one as had ever bene friend to the people of Florence, and had with perill to it selfe many times received the Guelfi, when they durst not abide in their owne Countrey. And by the memoriall of our proceedings, it cannot be found, that Lucca being free, did ever offend Florence: but the offence at any time done, was committed by those that usurped, as heretofore by Castuccio, and now by this man, which defaults cannot be imputed to the Cittie, but the Tyrants. And therefore if the warre might be made uppon the Tyrant, and not the Cittie, the displeasure should be the lesse. But because that could not be, he might not consent that a Cittie, beforetime a friend, should be spoyled of her substance. Yet sith at this day, men live as though of right or wrong none account is to be made, hee would leave to speake thereof, and thinke onely upon the profit of the Cittie. His opinion therefore was, that those things might be called profitable, which would not lightlie procure losse. Wherefore he knewe not how any man could call that enterprise profitable, where the losse was certaine, and the gayne doubtfull. The certaine losses were the charges it carried with it, which seemed so great, as would terrifie any peaceable Cittie, much more ours, having bene by long warres wearied. The profit of the enterprise, was the possession of Lucca, which hee confessed to be great; Yet were they to consider the lets thereof: and they seemed to him so great, as hee thought the successe impossible. Neither could hee beleve that the Venetians and Philipppo were therewith pleased: Because the Venetians consent, was onely to seeme thankfull, having lately with the Florentines woon a great Dominion. The other would be glad, that in a new warre wee shoulde spende more treasure: so as worne, and wearied on everie side, wee might after be the more easily annoyed. Also, there would not want meanes for him, even in the best hope of victorie, to succour the Lucchesi, eyther covertly with money, or with cassing of bands, and sending

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souldiers as adventurers to ayde them. Hee therefore perswaded that the enterprise might stay, and suffer them live with the Tyrant, whereby they shoulde have the more enemyes. For there was no way so apt to subdue the Cittie, as to suffer it continue under a Tyrant, and be by him assaulted or weakened. This matter wisely handled, the Cittie would be brought in termes, that the Tyrant not able to hold it, nor knowing how to governe it selfe, should of force fall in our bozome. Neverthelesse, seeing his words were not heard, hee would prognosticate that they would make a warre, wherein much should be spent, many hazards made, and in stead of surprizing Lucca, deliver it from the Tyrant, and procure that Cittie which before was subject and weake, to become a towne free, and full of displeasure: yea with time, an obstacle to the honour of the Florentine common-weale.

This enterprise thus perswaded, and disswaded, they begun (as the custome is) to practise with men secretly for the winning of their good wills, so as onely 98 persons did speake against it. Then the resolution set downe, and the Tenne elected for government of the warre, they enterteyned souldiers both on horsebacke and foote. Astore Gianni, and Rinaldo degli Albizi were appointed Generalles, and they agreed, that Micholo Fortibracchio should have the government of the Townes, if the enterprise tooke successe. The Generalles with the Armyes being arrived within the territorie of Lucca, divided their forces. Astore went into the playne, towards Ca Maggiore and Pietrasanta: And Rinaldo, towards the Mountaynes, thinking, that the Countrey being spoyled, the Cittie would be easily taken. The attempt of these men proved unfortunate, not because they surprized no Townes, but for the dishonor committed by one of them in the service: For true it is, that Astor Gianni gave great occasions of his owne dishonour. Neere unto Pietrasanta, there is a Vale called Seravezza, riche, and full of inhabitants, who hearing the Generall was come, presented them selves: desiring him to receive them for faithfull servants to the people of Florence. Astor seemed to accept the offer, and after caused his Souldiers to possesse all the passages, and strong places of the Vale: then com-

The warre
of Lucca
resolved.

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Cruelty of the
Florentine
Generall.

maunding all the inhabitants to assemble in the principall Church, and there willed his men to take them prisoners, sack them, and spoyle all the Countrey most cruelly: not sparing the sacred places, but without respecte, abusing aswell Virgins, as married women. The manner of these proceedings being knowne in Florence, offended not onely the Magistrates, but the whole Cittie also. Some fewe of the Saravezesi, who escaped the hands of the Generall, ran to Florence, telling in every streete, and to every man their miseries, and were by many Citizens encouraged, either because they desired to have the Generall punished, thinking him in deed an evill man, or else for that they knewe him not to favour their faction. So that the Saravezesi were brought before the tenne, where one of them stepped forth, and spake to this effect.

The com-
plaint of the
Saravezesi.

Sure we are (my good Lords) that our words should find beliefe, and compassion, if your Lordships did know in what sort your Generall hath used our Countrey, and how we have bene by him handled. Our Vale (as we hope your memorials do make mention) did alwayes love the faction Guelfa, and hath bene many times a faithfull receptacle for your Citizens, when flying persecution of the Ghibilini, they came thither. Our auncestors, and we also, have ever adored the name of this noble commonweale, being the head and chiefe of that secte. So long as the Lucchesi were Guelfi, we willingly obeyed their government, but since they submitted themselves to a Tyrant, (who hath abandoned his old friends, and followed the Ghibilini) rather by compulsion, then voluntarily, we have obeyed him. And God knoweth, how often we have prayed for occasion, whereby to shewe our zeale to the auncient faction. But alas how blind are men in their desires? that which we wished for our helpe, is now become our harme. For so soone as we heard your Generall marched towards us, we went, not as enemyes to encounter him, but (as our auncestors were wont) to yeeld into his hand our Countrey and fortunes: hoping that in him, although there were not the mind of a Florentine, yet should we find him a man. We beseech your Lordships to pardon us, for our extremitie is so much, as more may not be indured, which is the cause

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we make bold to speake thus plainely. This your Generall hath not of a man more then his presence, nor of a Florentine any thing save the name: but may be called a mortall plague, a cruell beast, and as horrible a monster, as by any wrighter can be described. For he having assembled us in our Temple, under pretence to talke with us, hath made us his prisoners: spoyling the whole countrey, burning the houses, robbing the inhabitants, sacking their goods, beating and murdering the men, forcing the Virgins, yea, pulling them from the hands of their Mothers, made them the pleasures of his souldiers. If for any injury done to the people of Florence or him, we had deserved so great a punishment, or if we had armed our selves against him, and bene taken, then should we have had lesse cause to complayne, yea, we would rather have accused our selves, confessing, that eyther for injurie or pride, we had so merited to be handled. But being disarmed, and freely offering our selves, then to rob us, and with so great despight and ignomie to spoyle us, we thinke it strange, and are inforced before your Lordships to lay downe our grieve. And albeit we might fill all Lombardy with offence, and with reproch of this Citie, publish our injuries through all Italy, yet would we not, lest thereby to blemish so honest, so honorable, and so compassionate a common weale, with the dishonestie and crueltie of one wicked Citizen, whose avarice before our ruine, was partly knowne unto us. And wee intended to strayne our selves to satisfie his greedie mind, which hath neither measure nor bottom. But sith our gifts come too late, we thinke good to resort to your Lordships, beseeching the same to relieve the misfortune of your subjects, to the end, that other men may not be afraid to yeeld them selves to your devotion. If our infinite miseries cannot move you, yet let the feare of Gods ire perswade you, who hath seene the Churches sacked and burnt, and our people betrayed in them.

These words pronounced, they presently fell downe prostrate upon the ground, weeping, and desiring their Lordships, that their goods and countrey might be restored, and that (though the womens honors could not be recovered) yet the Wives might be delivered to their Husbands, and

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Astore con-
demned and
Ri. slandered.

the Children to their Fathers. This heauey case being before reported, and now by the lively voyce of those afflicted men confirmed, did much move the Magistrates: and without delay, they revoked Astore, who after was condemned, and admonished. Then was there Inquisition made for the goods of the Seravezesi, and so much as could be found, was restored. For the rest, they were in time diuers wayes satisfied. Rinaldo degli Albizi, was likewise defamed, for having made the warre, not for the profit of the people of Florence, but his owne. Hee was also charged that so soone as hee became Generall, the desire of surprizing Lucca was forgotten, because hee sought no further than to spoyle the countrey, fill his pastures with cattle, and furnish his houses with the goods of others. Moreover, that his owne share of the bootie contented him not, but hee also bought the private spoyles of his souldiers. So that of a Generall, hee was become a Merchaunt.

The speech of
Ri. in his pur-
gation.

These slaunders come to his owne hearing, moved his honest and honorable mind more, then they ought to have done. In so much, as hee became therewith so amazed, that taking offence against the Magistrates and Citizens, without delay or leave taken, hee returned to Florence, and presenting himselfe to the Tenne, sayd: He knew well, how great difficultie and perill there was in serving a loose people, and a Cittie divided. For the one is credulous of every rumor, the other, punisheth no evill doings, rewardeth not the good, and blameth the indifferent; so that no man commendeth him that is victorious: For as much, as his fellowes for envie, and his foes for hatred, will persecute him. Notwithstanding, himselfe had never for feare of undeserved blame, omitted to performe an action that promised a certaine good to his countrey. But true it was, that the dishonestie of the present slaunders had oppressed his patience, and made him chaunge nature. Wherefore hee besought the Magistrates, to be from thencefoorth more readie to defend their Citizens, to the end, they might be likewise more readie to labour for their countrey. And although that in Florence no triumph was graunted, yet might they, at the leaste defende them from ignominious reproche, and remember that they them selves were also

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Citizens of the same towne, and that to themselves everie houre the like might happen : whereby they shoulde understand howe great grieffe false slaunders might breede in the mindes of men of integritie. The Tenne as time would serve, laboured to appease him, and committed the care thereof to Neri di Gino, and to Alamanno Salviati : who leaving to spoyle the countrey of Lucca, with their Campe, approached the Towne. And because the season was colde, they stayed at Campanvole. Where it seemed to the Generall that time was lost : and desirous to besiege the Towne, by reason of the evill weather, the Souldiers woulde not thereto consent. Notwithstanding, that the Tenne did sollicite them to the siege, and would accept none excuse at all.

At that time, there was in Florence an Architector, called Filippo Brunellesco, of whose handie-worke our Cittie is full : In so much, that after death, hee deserved to have his Image of Marble, erected in the chiefe Church of Florence, with Letters, to testifie hys great vertue. This man declared, howe Lucca considering the scite of the Cittie, and the passage of the River Serchio, mighte bee drowned. And perswaded them (so farre as the tenne gave commission) that this experiment should be tried, yet thereof followed nothing, but disorder to our camp, and suretie of the Lucchesi : for the Lucchesi advaunced their land, and then in the night brake the sluice of that ditch whereby the water was conducted : so that the ground towards Lucca being mounted, the water could not enter, and the ditch whereby the water should passe being broken, caused the river to revert towards the plaine, by meane whereof the Campe was forced to remove, and could not approach the towne. This enterprise, by meanes aforesaid prevented, the tenne newly elected, sent Giovanni Guicciardini for their Generall. He, with all speede possible, besieged the Cittie. The Lord thereof, finding himselfe environed with enemies, and encouraged by Anthonio del Rosso (who there remained as Embassador for the Sanesi) sent unto the Duke of Milan Salvestro Trenta, and Lodovico Bonvisi. They in the behalfe of their Lord, desired the Dukes aide, but finding him cold, secretly desired him to graunt them souldiers,

Filippo
Brunelsco.

The Lucchesi
pray aide of
the Duke of
Milan.

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Francesco
Sforza sent to
relieve Lucca.

and in recompence thereof, they promised to deliver into his hands their Lord, with the possession of their Cittie: Assuring him, that if hee did not accept this offer, their Lord would give the Towne to the Florentines, who with great promises, required to have it at his hand. The feare which the Duke conceived thereof, caused him to lay aside all respects: and gave order, that the Earle Francesco Sforza, his chiefe Captaine, should openly aske him leave to make a journey to the Kingdome of Napoli. Which being obtained, he with his forces, went unto Lucca, although that he knewe the practise was mistrusted, and that the Florentines had sent to the Earle Boccacino Alamanni their friend, to prevent it.

The Earle Francesco being arrived at Lucca, the Florentines retired their Campe to Librafatta, and the Earle presently besieged Pescia, where Pagolo da Diacetto was Governor: who being rather counselled by feare, then any other passion, fled unto Pistoia. And if that towne had not bene by Giovanni Malavolti defended, it had bene presently lost. The Earle then after one assault retired thence, and surprized Borgo a Buggiano, and burned Stiliano, a Castell neere thereunto. The Florentines seeing these ruines, resorted unto those helps which oftentimes had before saved them: well knowing, that against mercinarie souldiers, when force prevaieth not, corruption may: and therefore proffered unto the Earle certaine money, to the end he should not onely depart, but also deliver the towne into their hands. The Earle supposing that more money could not be had of the Lucchesi, was contented to take of those that could give it. Wherefore he concluded with the Florentines, not to deliver them Lucca, (because with his honestie he could not so do) but so soone as he should receive fiftie thousand duckets, he would abandon the enterprize. This bargaine being made, to the end the people of Lucca might excuse him to the Duke, he practised with them to drive out their Lord. At that time (as is before said) Antonio Rosso Ambassador of Siena was at Lucca. He with the authoritie of the Earle, practised with the Citizens the destruction of Pagolo. The chiefe of this conspiracie were Piero Cennanni, and Giovanni

Pagolo Lord
of Lucca
deposed.

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de Chivizano. The Earle was lodged without the towne by the River Scirchio, and with him Lanzilao the sonne of Pagolo. The conspirators being in number fortie, all armed, went unto Pagolo, who seeing them, demanded the cause of their comming. To whom Piero Cennanni answered, that they had bene governed by him till their enemies besieged them with sword and famine, and therefore they were now determined from that time forward, to governe themselves. Therewith they required the keys of the Citie, and the treasure. Pagolo answered, that the treasure was consumed, but the keyes and himselfe also were at their devotion. Then he desired them, that as his government was begun and continued without bloud, so without bloud, by their favours, it might be ended. Pagolo and his sonne, were by the Earle Francesco brought to the Duke, and died in prison. The departure of the Earle, delivered Lucca from the tyrant, and the Florentines from feare of his souldiers. So as then, the one prepared to defend, and the other returned to offend, electing the Earle of Urbino to be their Generall: who againe straightly besieging the citie, enforced the Lucchesi to resort anew unto the Duke, who (under the same colour that hee had sent the Earle) did now imploy in their aide Nicholo Piccinino. He, being readie to enter into Lucca, was encountred upon the River of Serchio, and in the passage thereof, our men received the overthrow, and the Generall with a fewe of our souldiers saved themselves at Pisa. This misfortune greeved the whole citie, yet because the enterprise was taken in hand by generall consent, the people not knowing whome to blame, slaundered onely them that were officers of the warre, sith they could not accuse those that were the devisors therof. Then they revived the former fault laid upon Rinaldo, but above al others, they charged Giovanni Guicciardini, accusing him for not having ended the warre after the departure of the Earle Francesco: saying that he had bene corrupted with mony, whereof he had sent part to his own house, and the rest he had carried with him and consumed. These rumours, and these accusations, proceeded so farre, that the Captaine of the people moved with publike voices, and also by the contrary partie provoked, sent for him. Giovanni

The Floren-
tines defeated.

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Peace be-
tweene the
Florentines,
and Lucchesi.

full of offence, appeared : wherupon his kinsfolkes for their owne honour, laboured the matter so earnestly, that the Captain did not proceed. The Lucchesi after the victorie, did not onelie recover their owne townes, but also surprized all others belonging to Pisa, except Bientia, Calcinava, Livorno, and Librafatta. And had not a conspiracie bene discovered in Pisa, the citie it selfe should have bene lost. The Florentines repairing their forces, made Michelletto their Generall, who had bene trained up by Sforza. On the contrarie side, the Duke followed the victorie (and the rather to molest the Florentines) procured that the Genovesi, Sanesi, and the Lord of Piombino, joyned in league for the defence of Lucca, and that Nicholo Piccinino should be entertained for their General, which was the cause that the practise was laid open. Therupon the Venetians and Florentines renewed their league, and the warre began to be openly made both in Lombardy and Toscana. In either of which Countries, with diverse fortune, diverse conflicts followed. So that either side wearie, a peace was concluded, in the yeare 1343, whereby the Florentines, Lucchesi, and Sanesi, who had surprized the Castles one of the others in the warre, left them all, and everie man repossessed his owne.

During the time that this warre continued, the evill disposition of factious men within the citie, beganne to worke, and Cosimo de Medici, after the death of Giovanni his father, governed all things concerning the Common wealth, with more care of the publike profit, and more liberalitie towards his friends, then was by his father used. In so much, as those that rejoyced at the death of Giovanni, seeing the vertue of Cosimo, became sorie. This Cosimo was a man of excellent wisdom, of presence grave and gracious, greatly liberall, curteous, and such a one as never attempted any thing either against any faction or the state, but sought by all meanes to pleasure everie man, and with his liberalitie to gaine the good wil of many Citizens. So that his good deserts defaced those that governed, and brought himself to beleeve ; that he might by that meanes live at Florence, in sufficient strength and securitie. And if the ambition of his adversaries should move any extraordinarie occasion to the contrarie, hee hoped both by armes

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and favoure of friendes to oppresse them. The greatest instruments to worke his greatnesse, were Averardo de Medici, and Puccio Pucci. Of them Averardo with courage, and Puccio with wisdom, procured him great reputation. For the counsell and wisdom of Puccio, was so well knowne to everie man, that the faction of Cosimo was called not by his owne name, but by the name of Puccio. The citie notwithstanding thus divided, the enterprise of Lucca proceeded, whereby the humours of the factions, were rather encreased then extinguished. And although the faction of Cosimo chiefly counselled the warre, yet many of the contrarie part were appointed officers therein, as men most reputed in the state : which Averardo and others not being able to remedie, sought by all industrie and practise to slaunder them : and if any losse happened (as many did) they imputed the same not to fortune or force of the enemy, but want of wisdom in the officers. This was the cause that the offences of Astor Gianni were esteemed so great. This made Rinaldo delli Albizi offended, and without licence to depart from his charge. This was the occasion that the deliverie of Giovanni Guicciardini was required at the hand of the Captaine of the people. And heereof proceeded all blames that had bene imputed to the Magistrates and ministers of the warre. For the true slaunders were encreased, and the untrue were invented : and both the true, and not true, were of the people that loved them, not beleived. These matters and manner of proceeding extraordinary, was well knowne to Nicholo di Uzano, and others of his faction, who had many times thought upon remedie, but found no meanes how to deale therein : Because it seemed to them, that the suffering thereof was dangerous, and forcibly to helpe it, was not easie. Nicholo di Uzano, was the first unto whom this extraordinary way displeased. Thus the warres continuig without the citie, and these disorders within : Nicholo Barbadori, desirous to bring Nicholo di Uzano to consent to the oppression of Cosimo, went unto his house, where he found him sadly set in his Closet, and there with the best reasons he could, perswaded him to joyne with Rinaldo to drive Cosimo out of the Citie. Unto whome Nicholo di Uzano answered, as followeth.

Perswasion
of Barbadori
to Nicholo
Uzano against
Cosimo di
Medici.

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Answer
of Nicholo
Uzano to
Barbadori.

I thinke it were better for thy house and our Commonweale, that all the rest, whose opinion thou herein followest, had their beards (as men saie) rather of silver, then gold, as thou hast. For then, their counsels proceeding from heads graie, grounded in experience, would be more advised, and more profitable. It seemeth to me, that those which desire to banish Cosimo from Florence, had neede first of all to measure their forces, with his. This our side, you have called by the name of Nobilitie : and the contrarie part, you have termed the plebeial partie. If the truth answered to these names, in everie accident, the victorie would prove doubtfull, and we have more cause to feare then to hope, moved with the example of the auncient Nobilitie of this citie, which had ben by this plebeiall sort heretofore oppressed. But the greatest cause of our feare is, that our side is dismembred, and our adversaries continue whole and entyre. First you must consider, that Neri di Gino and Nerone de Nigi (two of our principall Citizens) be not, as you know, more friends to us, then to them. There be also many families, among themselves divided. For diverse through envie of their brethren or their kinsmen, do disfavour us, and favour them. I wil resite unto you the names of some few, the rest you may the more easily remember with your self. Of the house of Guicciardini, and among the sonnes of Luigi, Piero is enemy to Giovanni, and favoureth our adversaries. Tomazo and Nicholo Soderini, for the hate they have to Francesco their uncle, are openly protested our enimies. So that, if we consider well what they are, and what we our selves be, I know not for what reason we shuld cal our or their partie more noble. And if it be, that we cal their part plebeial, bicause they are by the multitude most followed, their state therin is the better, and ours the worse. For whensoever we shal come to arms, we cannot resist them. Also if we stand on our dignities, they have bin given to us by the state, and by vertue therof, we have continued them these 50 yeres. Yet whensoever we shal come to prooffe, our weaknes wil appear, and we shal lose our authority. If you haply say, that the just occasion which moveth us to this enterprise, shall encrease our credit, and diminish theirs? Thereto I answer, that

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it behooveth this just quarrel of ours to be knowne, and beleevd of others, as wel as of our selves: which falleth out cleane contrarie, for the occasion alledged, is altogether builded upon the suspition we have, that he goeth about to make himselfe Prince of this cittie. This is the mistrust we have, which others have not, but they rather accuse us of that, we accuse him. The matters which make Cosimo suspected, are that he imployeth his mony to serve everie occasion, not onely to private uses, but also to the publike affaires: and that as well to the Florentines, as the Capitaines and Leaders. The cause why he doth faviour this, and that Cittizen, having need of authoritie, is for that his credit with the multitude, hath advaunced this and that friend, to great honours. Therefore it behoveth you to alledge the reasons why hee should be expulsed. Because he is charitable, friendly, liberall, and loved of all men? And now tel me I pray you, what lawe inhibiteth, blameth, or condemneth men for their charitie, their liberalitie, and their love? And albeit these be meanes for him to aspire, yet are they not so taken, neither are wee of credite enough to make them so to bee thought. For our proceedings have wrought our discredit, and our cittie (naturally disposed to division, and living alwaies in corruption) cannot give eare to such accusations. But admit you could expulse him, which (having a Senate for the purpose may easily come to passe): yet how can ye devise, that he having in the citie so many friends studying for his returne, should not be revoked? This I think impossible, because his friends being many, and he (having love universal) you cannot assure him. The more of his chiefe friends you labour to banish, the more enemies you winne to your selves. So that within short space he shall be returned, and you have gained thus much, that a good man he was banished, and returned an evil man: because his nature shall be corrupted by those, that will labour his revocation. To whom being made beholding, he may not oppose himselfe, and if you would put him to death, by order of Magistrates, you could never procure it: because his riches, and our corruptible nature, would assuredly save him. Yet admit he were dead, or banished never to returne? I see not what is gotten to

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our Common weale: for though it be thereby delivered of Cosimo, it becommeth subject to Rinaldo, and I am one of those, who wish, that no Citizen should surpasse an other in power and authoritie. But if any of these two should prevaile, I know not for what cause I ought to love Rinaldo more then Cosimo. Neither will I say more, then I pray God to defend, that any Citizen should aspire to be Prince of this citie. And though our sinnes have merited such a plague, yet God forbid we should obey him. Do not therefore perswade an enterprise, which in everie respect is dangerous, nor thinke that you (accompanied with a few) can withstand the will of many. For all these Citizens partly through ignorance, and partly of their lewdnesse, be prepared to make sale of the Common weale: and fortune is so friendly unto them, as they have already founde a chapman. Be therefore pleased to follow my counsell: live modestly, and so shall you find cause, as well to suspect some of our side for enemies to the libertie, as those of the contrarie: and when any troubles happen being neutrall, you shall be to both acceptable. So shall you helpe your selfe, and not hinder your country.

These words did somewhat appease the minde of Barbadoro: and the citie continued quiet, during the war of Lucca. But the peace made, and Nicholo da Uzano dead, the cittie remained both without warre and order. By meane whereof, evill humours grew, and Rinaldo thinking himselfe to be onely Prince, ceased not to entreate, and perswade all those Citizens (whom he thought likely to be Gonfalonieri) to arme themselves for the defence of their country, against that man, who through the lewdnesse of a few, and the ignorance of many, should of necessitie bring the same to servitude. This course holden by Rinaldo, and the contrarie laboured by the adverse part, filled the citie with suspicion: and at the election of everie Magistrate, the one against the other partie, publickly murmured, and at the election of the Senators, all the citie was in open uproare. Everie matter brought before the Magistrates (how litle so ever it were) occasioned a mutinie. All secret matters were laide open; good and evill, were favoured and disfavoured: good men, and

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evill men, equally molested; and no Magistrate could execute his office.

Florence remaining in this confusion, and Rinaldo labouring to oppresse the greatnesse of Cosimo: knowing that Barnardo Guadagni, was likely to be elected Gonfaloniere, paide his debts, to the end, that such mony as he owed to the state, should not be a meane, to keepe him from that dignitie. The Senators being chosen, (and fortune favouring our discords:) it came to passe, that Barnardo was chosen Gonfaloniere, to sit in that office, during the two moneths of September and October. Him presently Rinaldo visited, and told him how greatly the Nobilitie rejoyced for his being aspired to that honour, which for his vertue he deserved: and therfore required him, so to behave himselfe in the office, that their rejoycing should not be in vaine. Then he laid before him, the perils which proceeded of faction, and that there was no other remedie to unite the citie, but the oppression of Cosimo: because hee, with the love which his exceeding riches had gained him, held others downe, and aspired to make himselfe Prince. It were therfore convenient, for remedie of so great a mischiefe, that the people should be assembled in the Market place: And by vertue of the Gonfaloniere the citie restored to libertie. He moreover declared, how Salvestro de Medici, could without justice bridle the greatnesse of the Guelfi, unto whome by the bloud of their auncestors lost in that quarrell, the government to them appertained. And if he unjustly could do that against so many, then might Barnardo with justice do the same, against one alone. Then he perswaded him not to feare any man, because his friends would be readie armed to assist him. Of the multitude which so greatly honoured Cosimo, none account was to be made, for Cosimo should have by their favours none other good, then had Georgio Scali. Neither should he feare his riches, for they being come to the hands of the Senators, should be theirs. And in conclusion said, that this action should make the state united, and him famous.

To these perswasions, Barnardo briefly answered; how he thought necessary to do according to that counsel. And bicause the time was to be imploied rather in action, then

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Cosimo di
Medici cited
and com-
mitted.

words, he would presently prepare forces, to be readie, so soone as his companions could be perswaded to the enterprise. Barnardo being placed in office, and having woon his companions, and counselled with Rinaldo, sent for Cosimo : who, albeit he were otherwise advised, did appeare, trusting rather to his owne innocencie, then the mercie of the Senators. So soone as Cosimo was entered the Pallace, Rinaldo with many others armed, came to the Market place, and there met with the rest of that faction. Then the Senators caused the people to be called, and made a Balia of two hundreth men, to reforme the state of the cite: which Balia, with such speed as possibly they could, consulted upon the reformation, and also of the life and death of Cosimo. Many perswaded he should be banished, others would have him put to death, and many also said nothing, either for the compassion they tooke of the man, or for the fear of them selves. This diversitie of opinions, did procure that nothing was concluded. In a Tower of the Pallace called Albergetino, Cosimo was kept prisoner under the guard of Federigo Malavolti. From which place, Cosimo hearing them talke, and perceiving the noyse of armed men in the Market place, together with the often ringing of the Bell to the Balia, he stood in great suspition of his life: and feared also, least his particuler enemies would extraordinarylly murther him. For these respects, during the space of foure dayes, he would eate nothing, but one litle peece of bread: which Federigo perceiving, saide unto him. Cosimo, I see thou fearest to be poysoned, and therefore would first famish thy selfe. But thou doest me great dishonor, to thinke that I wold put my hand to so wicked a deede. I surely beleeve, that thou art not to die for this matter, having so good friends both within and without the Pallace. But if it be ment, that thy life shall be taken from thee, be sure, they should finde other ministers then me, to performe that deed. For I will not imbrew my hands in the bloud of any man, and chiefly in thine, who never offended me. Be therefore of good cheare, eate thy meate, and preserve thy life to the comfort of thy friends and country, and because thou shalt mistrust the lesse, I my selfe will eate part of those meates which be set before thee.

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These words comforted Cosimo exceedingly, and with teares in his eyes, he embraced and kissed Federigo; thanking him most heartily for his friendly and pitious dealing: offering to be thankfull whensoever occasion should be presented. Thus Cosimo somewhat comforted, and his cause disputed among the Citizens: It happened, that Federigo brought with him to supper a friend of the Gonfaloneries, called Farganaccio, a man verie wittie, and pleasantly disposed. The supper being almost ended, Cosimo hoping to helpe himselfe by this mans presence (for he was with him well acquainted) made signes to Federigo to go aside: who knowing the occasion, fained to go for something that wanted. And leaving them alone, Cosimo after a fewe friendly words spoken to Farganaccio, gave him a token, and sent him to the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, for a thousand and one hundreth crownes: wherof one hundreth to be kept to his owne use, the other to be livered to the Gonfaloniere. Farganaccio performed his Commission, the mony was paide: and by vertue thereof, Barnardo became more favourable. So as, then it was ordered, that Cosimo should be onely confined to Padoa, contrary to the expectation of Rinaldo, that desired his life. Averardo and many others of the house of Medici were also banished; and with them Puccio, and Giovanni Pucci. Also to terrifie others that were offended with the exile of Cosimo, they gave Commission of Balia, to the Eight of the Guard, and the Captaine of the people. After which order taken, Cosimo upon the third of October, in the yeare 1433, came before the Senators, who pronounced his banishment, and perswaded him to obey the same: Or if he would refuse, more severitie would be used, both unto his person and goods. Cosimo with chearfull countenance received his confinement, protesting that whither so ever the Senate should please to send him, hee was most willing to obey. Humbly desiring, that as they had preserved his life, so it might please them to defend him: for he was given to understand of many, that watched in the Market place to have his bloud. He said moreover, that himselfe and his substance should be ever at the commandement of the citie, the people, and their Lordships. The Gonfaloniere did comfort him, and

Cosimo di
Medici
banished.

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kept him in the Pallace till night was come. There he supped, and after brought him to his house: which done, caused him to be accompanied with many armed men, and by them was conducted to the confines. Wheresoever Cosimo passed, he was honourably received, and by the Venetians publicly visited, not as banished, but as a man in great authoritie.

Florence thus deprived of so worthie a Citizen, so universally loved, everie man was dismaid, and as wel they that had the victorie, as those that were victored, did feare. Rinaldo mistrusting future misadventure, to serve his owne turne and his friends, assembled many Citizens, and said to them, that he now saw their ruine at hand, because they were with faire words, teares, and the enemies mony vanquished: forgetting that shortly themselves should be forced to entreate and weepe, when their sutes shall not be heard, and of their teares no man would take compassion. Also touching the monies received, the same must be repaid, with torments, death, and exile, in stead of usurie. Moreover, that it had bin better for themselves to be dead, then suffer Cosimo to passe with life; and leave his friends in Florence. Because great personages should either not be touched, or being, must be made sure from taking revenge. No other remedie therefore remained, but to fortifie themselves within the citie: to the end, that the enemies taking knowledge thereof (as easily they will) we may resist them with armes, sith by order and lawe we could not avoyd them. The remedie of all this was (that which long before had bene remembred); to recover the great men, restoring and giving to them all the honors of the citie, making our selves strong with that faction: because the adversaries were strengthened by the multitude. By this means their partie should be knowne of how great force, vertue, courage, and credite it were. Alledging also, that if this last and truest refuge were not put in prooffe, he sawe not by what other meane, the state might be among so many enemies preserved. And therefore he beheld at hand, a destruction of them and their Citie.

To answer this speech, Mariotto Baldovineti one of the company opposed himselfe, and said; that the pride and

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insupportable nature of the Nobilitie was such, that it were no wisdom to submit themselves to a tyrannie certain, to eschue the doubtfull perils of the multitude. Rinaldo seeing his counsell not heard, lamented the misfortune of himselfe and his friends, imputing everie thing rather to the heavens that so would have it, then to the ignorance and blindness of men. The matter thus depending, without any necessarie provision made, a letter was found, written by Agnolo Acciaivoli to Cosimo, wherein he advertised the disposition of the citie towards him, and wished him to move some warre, making Nero di Gino his friend. For hee thought the Cittie had much need of mony, and no way knowne that would supplie that want. By occasion wherof, the desire of his return, would be greatly revived in the Citizens minds. And if Neri should fall from Rinaldo, then that side would become so weak, as could not defend it selfe. This letter come to the handes of the Magistrates, was the cause that Agnolo was taken, and sent to exile. By this example, some part of that humour which favoured Cosimo, was cooled. The yeare of Cosimo his banishment expired, and the end of August at hand, in the yere 1430, Nicholo di Cocco was chosen Gonfaloniere for the two moneths next following, and with him eight Senators, all friends to Cosimo. So as, that Senate terrified Rinaldo, and all his followers. Also because the custome was, that the Senators elected, should three dayes before they enter their office, remaine as private men at home: within that time, Rinaldo conferred with the chiefe of his faction, and shewed them their certaine, and approaching perill: the remedie whereof was, to take armes, and by force procure that Donato Velluti (who was yet Gonfaloniere) should assemble the people in the Market place, call a new Balia, deprive the new Senators of their office, creating a new Senate for their purpose, and exchaunging the old Squittini, put in new, with the names of their friends. This devise was by many thought secure and necessarie. Of others, it was holden over violent, and dangerous.

Among those that disallowed thereof, was Palla Strozzi, who being a man indeed quietly disposed, gentle, courteous, and inclined rather to learning, then apt to encounter a

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faction, or oppose himselfe to civill disorder: said, that enterprises having in them either craft or courage, do seeme at the beginning easie, but afterwards they proove hard in their proceeding, and in the end daungerous. Hee also beleaved, that the feare of new warres abroad, begun by the Duke in Romagna, neare to our confines, should be a meane, that the Senators would be more mindfull of them, then of these discords at home. But if it were seene, that they would change the government, the same could not be with such speed, but armes might be taken, and all things done necessarie for defence of the publike state. And this being performed upon necessitie, and not sooner, should be the lesse marvelled at of the people, and with lesse reproach to themselves. For these reasons it was concluded, that the new Senators should be suffered to enter, and heede be taken to their proceedings; to the end that if any thing were attempted contrarie to the faction, that then everie man should take Armes and resort to S. Pulinare (a place neare to the Pallace) from whence they might go to performe whatsoever should be thought necessary. This conclusion made, everie man returned home. The new Senators entered their offices, and the Gonfaloniere (to give himselfe reputation, and terrifie the contrarie partie) condemned to prison Donato Velluti, his predecessor, for having imploied the publike treasure. After these things were done, he sounded the minds of his companions, touching the returne of Cosimo: and finding them well disposed, consulted with all those whom he thought to be chiefe heads of the faction of Medici. By them he was greatly encouraged: And thereupon commanded that Rinaldo (as principall man of the contrary faction) should be sent for.

Rinaldo and
his friends
armed
against the
Medici.

After this commandement given, Rinaldo thought good no longer to protract time, but came from his house followed with many armed men, and with him joyned presently Ridolpho Peruzzi, and Nicholo Barbadori. Amongst them were also diverse other Citizens, and many souldiers, who at that time hapned to be in Florence without pay. All which company, according to the order taken, resorted to S. Pulinare, and there staid. Palla Strozzi had also assembled much company, but came not

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out: the like did also Giovanni Guicciardini. For which so doing, Rinaldo sent to sollicite them, and reprove them of their delaie. Giovanni answered, that hee made warre inough to the enemie, if by his tarrying at home, he could holde Piero his brother from going out, to rescue the Pallace. Palla after manie messages sent unto him, came on horse backe to S. Pulinare, with two onely foote men, and himselfe, unarmed. And Rinaldo seeing him, went towards him, and reprovved him greatly of negligence, saying that hee shewed himselfe thereby a man either of small troth, or little courage. Both which reproachfull faultes, a man of that sort, whereof he was holden, ought to eschue. And if happily he beleaved, for not performing his promise, that the enemie (having victorie) would pardon either his life or his exile, therein he was deceived. As for himselfe, if any misfortune happened, yet this content of minde should remaine, that before the perill, hee was not dismaid, and the perill being come, hee was not afraid. But he (and such others as he was) should double their owne discontentments, knowing they had three times betraied their Country. First when they saved Cosimo, next when they refused his counsell, and last for not comming in Armes, according to appointment. To these speeches, Palla answered not any thing that was heard of those that were there, but murmuring, turned his horse, and went home.

The Senators hearing that Rinaldo and his followers were in Armes, and seeing themselves abandoned, shut the Pallace gates, and as amazed, knew not what to doo. But Rinaldo delaying his going thither, attending for forces which came not, lost the occasion of victorie, and gave courage to the Senators to make provision, and to other Cittizens to goe unto them, and advise them how matters might bee appeased. Then some friendes to the Senators least suspected, went unto Rinaldo, and saide, that the Senate knew no cause of these motions, and that they had no intent to offend him, or if it were for Cosimo, there was no meaning of his revocation. If therefore these were the occasions of their suspition, they might assure themselves, come to their Pallace, be welcome, and have their demaunds graunted. These words could not alter the resolution of

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Pope Eugenio
laboureth a
Pacification
in Florence.

Rinaldo, but said that hee would make the Senators private men, and by that meanes bee assured: which done, reforme the Cittie to the benefite of all men. But it ever commeth to passe, that amongst those whose authoritie is equall, and their opinions diverse, for the moste parte, nothing is well resolved. Ridolpho Peruzzi moved with the words of those Citizens, said, that for his owne part, hee sought not further then that Cosimo might no more return, which being granted, he thought the victorie sufficient. Neither desired he in hope of more, to fill the Citie with bloud, and therefore he would obey the Senate. Then went he to the Pallace, where he was joyfully received. Thus the staie of Rinaldo at S. Pullinare, the fainte heart of Palla, and the departure of Ridolpho, had utterly overthrowne the enterprise: and the mindes of those Cittizens that followed Rinaldo, beganne to faile of their wonted courage, whereunto the authoritie of the Pope was joyned. For at this time, Pope Eugenio being expulsed Rome, happened to be in Florence, where he heard of these tumults, and thought it his office to be a meane to pacifie the Cittie. And therefore sent Giovanni Vittelleschi, Patriarke and friend to Rinaldo, to desire, that hee would come unto him, for hee intended to imploy all his credite and authoritie to the Senate, to make him contented and assured, without bloud or daunger to the Cittie. Rinaldo perswaded by the message of his friend, went to Santa Maria Novella, where the Pope laie, and was followed with all those whome hee had armed. To him the Pope declared, what credite the Senate had given him, which was, to determine all controversies, and order all matters as should by him bee thought good.

Rinaldo having made prooffe of the coldnesse of Palla, and the inconstancie of Ridolpho Peruzzi, and wanting a better shift, yeelded himselfe into the Popes hands, hoping his authoritie should have continued. Thereuppon the Pope caused knowledge to be given to Nicholo Barbadori, and the rest, who attended without, that they should laie downe their Armes: because Rinaldo remained with him, for the concluding a peace with the Senatours. Which wordes resolved everie man, and they disarmed themselves.

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The Senators seeing their adversaries disarmed, practised a peace by mediation of the Pope, and in the meane time sent secretly to Pistoia, for certaine bands of foote men, whome (accompanied with all their men at Armes) they suffered in the night to enter the Cittie: and possessing the strongest places, and calling the people to the Market place, created there a new Balia, which at the first assembly, determined the revocation of Cosimo, with all others that were banished. And of the contrary faction, they confined Rinaldo delli Albizi, Ridolfo Peruzzi, Nicholo Barbadori, Palla Strozzi, and many other Cittizens, that the number of them was such, as that fewe Townes of Italy (and many other places also) but were full of them. By this accident the Citie of Florence became deprived, not onely of honest men, but also of riches and industry.

Cosimo re-
voked, and
Rinaldo with
others, con-
fined.

The Pope seeing the ruine of those men, who at his request had laide downe Armes, became greatly discontented, lamenting with Rinaldo for the injury to him done under his credit, perswading him to patience, and hope of better fortune. To whome Rinaldo answered; the small credit which they gave me, who ought to have beleevved me, and the overmuch credite which I have given to you, hath utterly undone me, and my Countrey. But I complaine more of my selfe then anie others, for beleevving, that you being banished your Countrey, could maintaine mee, in mine. Of Fortunes dalliances I have had experience inough, and sith I little trusted to prosperitie, mine adversitie shall the lesse offend mee, for I knowe well, that (Fortune beeing so pleased) can againe favoure mee. But if she never so do, I shall ever care little, to live in that Cittie, where the lawes are of lesse authoritie, then men. Because that Countrey is to be desired, where the wealth and friends of men may be with securitie enjoyed, and not that, where mens goods may bee taken from them, and their friendes (for feare to loose theyr owne) in greatest necessitie forsake them. It was also ever lesse greevous to good and wise men, to heare the miseries of their Countrey, then with their owne eyes to see them. And it is also thought a thing more glorious, to be reputed an honourable Rebel, then a slavish Citizen. After this speech made, being much

The words of
Rinaldo at his
banishment.

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troubled in mind, he tooke leave of the Pope, finding great fault with his Councels, and the coldnesse of his friends, and so went towards his exile. Cosimo on the other side, having received knowledge of his restitution, returned to Florence, and was there received, with no lesse pompe, then is used to other Citizens, who after victorie, came home in tryumph. So great was the Concourse of people; so great the demonstration of their benevolence towards him, at this his returne from banishment, as the Cittizens willingly saluted him by name of the peoples Benefactor, and Father of the Country.

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THE FIFT BOOKE



ALL Countries in their alterations, doo most commonly chaunge from order to disorder, and from disorder to order againe. For nature having made all worldly thinges variable, so soone as they have attained their uttermost perfection and height, doo of force descend : and being come downe so low, as lower they cannot, of necessitie must ascend. So that from good they descended to evill, and from evill ascend to good. Warre begetteth quiet, quiet occasioneth idlenesse, Idlenesse breedeth disorder, Disorder maketh ruine : Likewise of ruine groweth order, of order vertue, and of vertue, glorie with good fortune. It hath bene therefore by wise men observed, that learning followeth Armes, and in all Cities and Countries, Captaines were before Philosophers. For good and well governed Armes, having wonne victorie, of that victorie followeth quiet. And surely the courage of warlike mindes cannot with a more honest idlenesse, then the studie of Letters, be corrupted ; nor idlenesse by anie greater or more perilous craft enter Cities well governed : which Cato (at such time as Diogenes and Carneades Philosophers, were sent Embassadors from Athens to the Senate) did well observe. For hee seeing with what admiration the youth beganne to follow them, and knowing the inconveniences which might of that honest idlenesse ensue, provided that no Philosopher, might after be received into Rome. Every country therefore by these meanes doth come to decaie. Wherewith men being beaten and weary

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of troubles, returne (as is before said) to order, if by extraordinarie force they be not utterly ruined. These occasions, by vertue of the auncient Toscani and Romanes did make Italy, sometimes happie, and sometimes miserable. And albeit since that time, nothing hath bene builded upon the Romane ruines comparable to the olde, (as might with great glorie have bene under the government of a vertuous Prince). Yet in some newe Citties so much vertue is growne up (among the Romane spoyles) that although no one hath attained such power as to commaund the rest, yet became they so well ordered and lincked together, as they delivered and defended themselves from the barbarous people. Of this number was the Florentines government, (although of lesse Empire) yet in authoritie and power not inferiour to anie, but rather by inhabiting the midst of Italy, being rich and readie to offend, either happily they answered the warres made against them, or else gave the victorie to those in whose fauour they imployed their forces. By the vertue of these principallities, although no times of quiet, and long peace were, yet were they not by terrour of warre much perillous. For we cannot account that peace, where one state oftentimes with Armes assayleth the other. Neither can that be called warre, where men be not slaine, Citties not sacked, nor principallities destroyed. For the warres of that time became so cold, as they were begunne without feare, continued without perill, and ended without losse. Insomuch, as that vertue which in other Countries was wont by long peace to be extinguished, was in Italy by their owne cowardice quenched, as will plainly appeare, by that we will hereafter declare from the 1434 till the 94. Whereby we may see, how at length a way was againe opened for the entrie of straungers, and Italy became to them subject. And albeit the actions of our Princes both abroad and at home, are not (as those of auncient time were) to be read and marvelled at for their vertue and greatnesse: yet for some other quallities, to be with no lesse admiration considered, seeing so many Noble people, were by so fewe and evill trained souldiers kept in awe. And if in declaration of things happened in this badde world, we shall not set downe the courage of anie souldier,

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the vertue of anie Captaine, or the love of anie Cittizen towards his Countrey: yet shall you finde, what cunning and Art, the Princes, the Souldiers, and chiefe Governours in Common weales (to maintaine the reputation they did not deserve) have used: which percase will proove not lesse worthie, and profitable to be knowne, then those of most auncient time. For as those do stirre up Noble mindes to follow them: So these, to eschue their lewdnesse and lacke of vertue, wil provoke us. In those dayes Italy was brought to such condition, by them that there commaunded: that whensoever through reconciliation of the Princes a peace was made; shortly after, (by such as had weapons in hand) it was againe disturbed. So that neither by the warres ended, was gotten glorie, nor by the peace, quiet. The peace being concluded betweene the Duke of Milan, and those of the League, in the yeare 1433, the souldiers desiring still to exercise the warre, made an enterprise against the Church.

There were at that time in Italy, two sorts of souldiers, the one trained under Braccio, the other under Sforza. Of these, the chiefe Captain was the Earle Francesco sonne of Sforza. Of the other, Nicholo Piccinino, and Nicholo Fortibraccio were the Leaders. To these two Sects, all the other Italian souldiers joyned themselves. Yet were the followers of Sforza of most reputation, as well for the vertue of the Earle, as the promise to him made by the Duke, of Bianca his naturall daughter: which alliance, gained him exceeding estimation. Both these Sects of souldiers, after the peace of Lombardy (for diverse occasions) assaulted the Pope Eugenio. Nicholo Fortibraccio was thereto moved by the old displeasure borne to the Church, by Braccio. And the Earle, by his own ambition. Inso-much as Nicholo assaulted Rome: and the Earle possessed himselfe, of La Marca. The Romanes to eschue the warres, banished Eugenio from Rome, who (with perill and difficultie escaped) came unto Florence. Where considering of the danger wherein he was, and seeing himselfe by those Princes abandoned, and that they refused to take armes in hand for him, by whose meane at their owne desire, they had bene lately disarmed, compounded with the Earle, and granted

Two sorts of
souldiers in
Italy, 1433.

The Duke
of Milans
daughter
offered to
Fran. Sforza.

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The Pope
assaulted by
Fran. Sforza.

Warre be-
tweene the
Pope and the
Duke of
Milan.

Fran. Sforza
Generall of
the League.

him the principallitie of La Marca: notwithstanding that hee had not onely before taken that countrey from him, but also used contempt in the letters which hee wrote to his Agents for the division of the land, writing thus; Girifalco nostro Firmiano, Invito Petro and Paulo. Neither was he contented with the graunt of these townes, but hee would be also Gonfaloniere of the Church. All which was graunted: So much did Pope Eugenio, feare more a daungerous warre, then a dishonourable peace. Thus the Earle become friend to the Pope, did persecute Nicholo Fortibraccio, and between them in the territorie of the Church, in many moneths, many accidents happened, more to the prejudice of the Pope, and his subjects, then of them that made the war. In so much as by the Dukes of Milan, his mediation, it was concluded, that the one, and the other of them, should remaine Princes in the Townes belonging to the Church. This warre quenched at Rome, was kindled in Romagna by Babtista Canneto, who in Bologna had slaine certaine of the house of Grisoni, and driven from thence the Popes Governour, with some other enemies. Then to hold that state by force, hee desired aide of Philippo. And the Pope to be revenged of this injurie, required helpe of the Venetians and Florentines. The one and the other of them were ayded. So that within short space, two great Armies were come into Romagna. The Generall for Philippo, was Nicholo Piccinino. The Venetian Forces, and the Florentines, were ledde by Gatamelata, and Nicholo de Tolentino. Neare unto Imola, they joyned battaile, wherein the Venetians and Florentines were overthrowne: and Nicholo de Tolentino sent prisoner unto the Duke, where either by poyson, or his owne sorrow for the losse received, within fewe dayes hee died. The Duke after this victorie, either because hee was weake; or beleaved that the league after this overthrow would stande quiet, followed no further his fortune; but gave the Pope and his confederates time to unite themselves anew: who elected for their Captaine the Earle Francesco; with determination to remove Nicholo Fortibraccio from the Townes belonging to the Church; and by that meanes, and the warres which in favoure of the Pope they had begunne. The Romanes

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seeing the Pope strong in the field, sought his friendship, and received a Governour from him.

Nicholo Fortibraccio among other townes, possessed Tibali, Montefiasconi the Cittie of Castello and Ascesi. Into this towne Nicholo (not being able to keepe the field) fled. There the Earle besieged him, and the siege continuing long (for Nicholo manfully defended himselfe) the Duke thought necessarie either to impeach the League of that victorie, or else after the same, to take order for the defence of his owne. He therefore, to remove the Earle from the siege, commaunded Nicholo Piccinino to goe into Toscana, by the way of Romagna. Whereupon the League judging it more necessarie to defend Toscana, then surprize Ascesi, gave order to the Earle, not to suffer the passage of Nicholo, who was alreadie with his Armie arrived at Furli. The Earle on the other side marched with his souldiers, and came to Secena, recommending unto Lione his brother, the warre of La Marca, and his other lands, during the time that Piccinino should passe. And while Piccinino laboured to passe, and the Earle impeached him, Nicholo Fortibraccio assaulted Lione, with great honour tooke him, and spoyled his souldiers. Also following this victorie, he surprized many townes in La Marca. This proceeding greatly grieved the Earle, and supposing all his Countries to be lost, hee left part of his armie to make warre upon Piccinino: with the rest he marched towards Fortibraccio, whom he assaulted and vanquished. In that overthrow, Fortibraccio remained a prisoner, and was so sore hurt, that thereof he died.

This victorie restored unto the Pope all those townes, which by Fortibraccio had bene taken from him, and brought the Duke of Milan to demaund peace, which by the mediation of Nicholo de Este Marquesse of Farrara, was concluded. Whereby the townes surprized by the Duke in Romagna, were restored to the church: and the souldiers belonging to the Duke, returned to Lombardy. Also Baptista de Caneto (as it happeneth to all others, who by force or vertue of other men possesse any state) so soone as the Dukes souldiers were departed from Romagna, (his own power and vertue not being able to defend him in Bologna) fled away.

THE
FIFT
BOOKE

Peace be-
tweene the
League and
the Duke.

THE FLORENTINE HISTORIE

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BOOKE

Whither Antonio Bentevogli, chiefe of the contrarie faction, presently returned. All these things chanced during the exile of Cosimo: after whose returne, these who had sought his revocation, with diverse other Cittizens before injured, thought without respect, to assure themselves of the government. And the Senate which succeeded, in the moneths of November and December, not contented with that which their predecessours had done in favour of their faction, prolonged and changed the time and places of those that were banished, and confined many others anew. Also diverse Citizens were in that time hindered, not only by the humour of faction, but also in respect of their riches, their parentage, and private friendship. And if this proscription of blood had bene continued, it would have bin like unto that of Octaviano, or Silla, being partly also imbrued in blood. For Antonio sonne of Barnardo Guadagni was beheaded, and foure other Citizens (among whome was Zanoby Belfrategli, and Cosimo Barbadori. These two Cittizens for having passed their confines, and remaining at Venegia, were by the Venetians (who esteemed more the love of Cosimo then their own honor) sent home prisoners, and were most cruelly put to death. Which thing gave great reputation to the faction of Cosimo, and much terror to the enemy, that so mightie a Common weale refused not to sell their libertie to the Florentines. Which was thought to be done, not so much to gratifie Cosimo, as to exasperate the factions in Florence, and make, by meanes of blood, the division of our citie the more daungerous: Because the Venetians found that there was nothing that so much hindred their greatnes, as the uniting thereof. Thus the citie being acquite both of the enemies and persons suspected to the state, the governours studying to pleasure other people, and make their own part the stronger, restored the house of Alberti with all other Rebels. All the great Citizens (a few except) were brought into the order of the people, and the possessions of the rebels at smal prices, among them sold. Moreover with new lawes, and orders, they strengthened themselves, making new Squittini, taking out the names of their enemies, and putting in the names of their friends. Also being warned by the ruine of their enemies,

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and judging that it sufficed not for the holding of the state, to have the Squittini full of their friends : they also thought good, that the Magistrates of life and death, should be chosen of the chiefe of their faction. It was therfore required, that the makers of the new Squittini, together with the old Senate, should have authoritie to create the new. They gave unto the Eight authoritie over life and death, and provided that those that were banished, should not (though their time were expired) return, unlesse of the Senat and the Colledges being in number 37) were thereunto consenting, or at the least, thirtie foure of them. To write unto those that were confined, or receive any letters from them, was forbidden. Also every word, every signe, and every action that offended the Governours, was greevously punished. And if in Florence remained any suspition, it was the Impositions lately imposed : and so having driven out their adversaries, or brought them to great poverty, assured themselves of the state. Also not to want forrein aid, but prevent such as thereby determined to offend them, they did confederate, and make league with the Pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan. The state of Florence resting in these tearmes, Giovanna Queene of Naples dyed, making by her testament Rinieri de Angio, heyre of her Kingdome.

At that time Alfonso King of Aragon happened to be in Sicilia, and having the friendship of many Barrons there, prepared himselfe to possesse that Kingdome. The Napolitanes, and many of the Lords favoured Rinieri. The Pope on the other side, would neither that Rinieri, nor Alfonso might possesse it : but desired that himselfe should governe it, by a Deputy of his owne. Yet Alfonso being arrived in the Kingdome, was by the Duke of Sessa received, and there entertained some other Princes, hoping to surprize Capova (which the Prince of Tarranto in the name of Alfonso possessed) and by that meane to constraine the Napolitanes to yeeld to his will. For that purpose he sent his Navie to assault Gaietta, which was holden for the Neapolitanes. The Napolitanes then prayed ayde of Philipppo, who perswaded the Genovesi to take that enterprise in hand. They not onely to satisfie the Duke their Prince,

Warre between Rinieri de Angio, and King Alfonso of Aragon.

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King Alfonso
taken by the
Genovesi.

but also to save the merchandize they had in Naples and Gaietta, armed a mightie Navie. Alfonso on the contrary side, understanding thereof, encreased his forces, and went in person to encounter the Genovesi, with whom he fought neere unto the Island of Pontio, and there his Navie was vanquished, himselfe with diverse other Princes taken and sent by the Genovesi to Philipppo. This victorie dismayd all the Princes of Italy, because thereby they thought he might become owner of all. But he (so diverse are the opinions of men) tooke a course, cleane contrary to expectation. This Alfonso, being a man verie wise, so soone as he could come to the speech of Philipppo, tolde how greatly he deceived himselfe to favour Rinieri, and disfavoure him: because if Rinieri were King of Naples, he would labour with all his force to bring the Dukedome of Milan to the hands of the French King, by reason his ayde was at hand, his furniture of all things necessarie, and the way open for his reliefe. Neither could he looke for better then his owne ruine, if he made that state to become French. But the contrarie would follow, if himselfe might be Prince. For he not fearing any other enemy then the French, should be enforced to love, honour and obey him, who had the onely power to open the way to his enemies. So that although the Kingdome should rest with Alfonso, yet the authoritie and power thereof would remaine in the hands of Philipppo. Wherefore it would much more import him then himselfe, to consider the perill of the one, and the profit of the other, unlesse he desired more to satisfie his fantesie, then assure the state. Because in doing the one, he should be Prince, and free, by the other (in the midst of two mightie enemies) either sure to lose the state utterly, live alwayes in suspection, or, as a subject, obey them. These words wrought so deepe in the Dukes mind, that (changing his intent) he delivered Alfonso, honorably returned him to Genova, and from thence to the Kingdome. There he imbarked againe, and being arrived at Gaietta, his delivery was knowne, and that Countrey sodeinly surprized by certaine Lords his followers. The Genovesi seeing, that without respect to them, the Duke had delivered the King, and that he, whome they with their charge and perill had

King Alfonso
delivered.

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honoured, did not make them aswell partakers of the honor in the Kings enlargement, as of the injurie to him done, and his overthrow, grew greatly offended. In the Cittie of Genova (when it liveth in libertie) there is created one head, whome they call Doge, not to be a Prince absolute, nor to determine alone, but as chiefe to propound those matters, whereof the Magistrates and Councels should consult. Within that Towne be many noble Families, which are so mightie, that with difficultie, they yeeld to the authoritie of Magistrates. And of them the houses of Fregosa and Adorna be of greatest force. From these, the divisions of that Cittie, and the causes of civill disorders did proceed. For they many times contending for government, not onely civilly, but also by armes, it falleth out, that ever the one faction is afflicted, and the other governeth. It also happeneth many times, that those who are deposed from authoritie, do pray ayde of forreine armes, and yeeld that government to others, which they themselves could not enjoy. Hereof it proceedeth, that those who governed in Lombardy, do for the most part commaund in Genova, as it happened at such time as Alfonso was taken.

Fregosi and
Adorni.

Among the chiefe of the Genovesi that caused the Cittie to be given into the hands of Philipppo, was Francesco Spinola, who not long after he had brought his countrey in bondage (as in like cases it ever happeneth) became suspected to the Duke. Wherewith he being discontent, voluntarily exiled himselfe to Gaietta, and there chanced to be, at such time as the fight by sea was performed against Alfonso. In which exploit he served so vertuously, that he perswaded himselfe to have deserved so well of the Duke, as in respect of his service, he might (at the least) live in Genova with securitie. Yet perceiving the Duke to continue in his suspition, and fearing least he beleaved, that a man who had not loved the liberty of his countrey, could not love him, determined to try a new fortune, and at one instant both to deliver his countrey, and win himselfe fame with securitie; Being perswaded, that by no meanes he might recover the good will of the Cittizens better, then to performe such an acte with his owne hand : So as, the same hand which had offended, and hurt his countrey, should

Francesco
Spinola.

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also minister the medicine, and heale it. Then knowing the universall offence borne to the Duke by the deliverie of the King, thought the time to serve well for the execution of his intent. Wherefore he imparted his mind to some, whome he knew of his owne opinion: Them he perswaded and prepared to followe him. The feast of S. John Baptist being come, Arismino (the new Governor sent by the Duke) entred into Genova, accompanied with Opicino the old Governor, and many other Cittizens. Francesco Spinola thought then good no longer to deferre the matter, but came out of his house with diverse others, all armed, and privie to his determination. So soone as hee came to the market place, where himselfe dwelled, he proclaymed the name of libertie. And it was a thing very marvellous to see, with how great speed the people and Cittizens to that name assembled: So as no man that loved the Duke either for his owne profit, or other occasion, had leisure to take armes, or thinke how to save himselfe. Arismino with some other Genovesi, fled into the Castle which he kept for the Duke. Opicino presuming that (if he fled to the Pallace) having there two thousand Souldiers at his commaundement, he should either save himselfe, or give courage to his friends to defend him, went thitherwards, but before he came to the market place, was slaine, cut in pieces, and drawne through every streete of the Cittie. The Genovesi having thus reduced the Cittie under their owne Magistrates and libertie, within few dayes also surprized the Castle, with the other places of strength possessed by the Duke, and so clearely cast off the yoke of Philippo. These matters thus handled, as at the beginning, the Princes of Italy was dismayd, fearing that the Duke should become overmightie, so this gave them hope (seeing what end they had) to be able to bridle him. And notwithstanding the league lately made, the Florentines and the Venetians made peace with the Genovesi: whereupon, Rinaldo delli Albizi, and other leaders of the Florentines banished, seeing things out of order, and the world changed, did hope to perswade the Duke to make open warre against the Florentines. For which purpose they went to Milan, and Rinaldo being come to the Dukes presence, spake as followeth.

The libertie
of Genova
recovered.

NICHOLO MACCHIAVELLI

If we sometimes your enemies, do now confidently desire ayde of you for the recoverie of our countrey, neither you, nor any other (that consider worldly matters, how they proceed, and how variable fortune is) ought to mervaile, albeit neither of our passed or present actions, nor of that we have long since done either to you, or to our countrey, or that which now is in doing, we can render a good and reasonable excuse. There is no good man reprooveth another for defending his Countrey, in what sort soever the same is defended. Neither was it ever our meaning, to injure you, but to defend our owne from being injured ; which was sufficiently proved in the greatest victories of our league. For so soone as we knew you inclined to a true peace, we were thereof more desirous, then you your selfe, so that we need not feare to obtaine any favour at your hands. Neither can our Countrey find fault, although we now perswade you to take armes against it, whome with so great resolution we have withstood. For that countrey deserveth to be loved of all men, which indifferently loveth them ; and not that countrey, which disdaineth the greatest number, advanceth a few. There is no man also that ought to condemne men, although for some causes they take armes against their countrey. For albeit the Cities be bodies mixed, yet have they of bodies simple, some resemblance. And as in these, many infirmities grow, which without fire and force cannot be cured : so in the other, many mischiefes arise, which a godly and good Citizen should offend to leave uncured : notwithstanding that in the cure he doth (as it behoveth him) apply both fire and force. What sicknes in the bodie of a common-weale can be greater, then servitude ? And what medicine is more needfull then this in the cure of that disease ? Those warres be only just, which be necessarie, and those armes most mercifull, where other hope cannot be had, then by them. I know not what necessitie is greater then ours, or what compassion can be more, then to deliver a Countrey from servitude ? Most certainly we know our cause is to be pittied and just, which ought to be both by us and you considered. For your part, faile not to affoord this justice, sith the Florentines have not bene ashamed, after a peace

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BOOKE
The Oration
of Ri. de
Albizi to the
Duke of
Milan.

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with so great solemnitie concluded, to make league with the Genovesi your rebels: so that though our cause move you not to compassion, yet this dishonor offered unto your selfe, ought to perswade you, and the rather that you see the enterprise easie. Let not exampls passed discourage you, having seen the power of that people, and their obstinate defence of themselves. Which two things, might yet reasonably be feared, were they of the same vertue, which in those daies they have bene. But now you shall finde all contrarie. For what force can you looke for in any Cittie, which hath spoiled the greatest part of the riches, and industrie thereof. What resolution can be hoped of in a people, by so divers and new quarrels disunited? Which disunion, is cause, that those riches there remaining in such sort as they were wont, be imploied, because men do willingly spend their patrimony, when they see the same for their owne glory, their owne honor, and their owne Countrey employed: ever hoping to recover that in peace, which the warre hath consumed: and not when they see themselves both in war and peace oppressed; having in the one to suspect the injurie of enemies, and in the other, the insolencie of them that command. Also, the people are more harmed by covetousnes of our own Citizens, then the spoile of our enemies, for of this some end may be hoped of, but of that none at all. In the warres passed, you made warre to the whole Citie, but now you are only to contend with a few. Then you came to take the state from many, and those good Citizens, but now you are to assault a few, and those but base companions. Then you came to take the libertie from the Cittie, but now you come to restore it. It is not therefore like, that in so great a contrarietie of occasions, the effect that will follow shall be like. Yea, you are rather to hope of victorie certaine, which how greatlie it fortifieth your State, your selfe may easilie judge, having thereby greatly bound Toscana to be your friend. And though at some other time, this victorie would be accounted ambitious and violent, yet upon this occasion, is esteemed just and reasonable. Omit not therefore the present opportunitie, and thinke that although your other enterprises against the Cittie, did with their

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difficultie breed your expences and infamie, yet this with great facilitie shall bring you forth exceeding profit, with most honourable report.

There needed not many words to perswade the Duke to move warre against the Florentines, because he was thereunto disposed by hate hereditarie, and blind ambition, which humors did leade and commaund him: and the rather, being spurred forward by new injuries, and offence for the league made with the Genovesi. Notwithstanding, his former charges, with the fresh memory of perils, and losses passed, together with the vaine hope of the banished men, did discourage him. This Duke, so soone as he understood the rebellion of Genova, had sent Nicholo Piccinino with all his men of armes, and those footemen he could hire in his journey, to recover the Cittie, before the Cittizens had settled their minds and planted a new government, greatly trusting unto the Castle of Genova which was holden for him. And albeit that Nicholo had forced the Genovesi to flee unto the mountaines, and taken from them the Vale of Pozeveri, where they fortified themselves, and also constrained them to retire within the walles of their Cittie: yet found he so great difficultie in going forward, by reason of the Cittizens resolute defending themselves, that he was enforced to remove from thence. Whereupon the Duke at the perswasion of the banished Florentines, commaunded that the River on the East side should be assaulted, approaching the confines of Pisa, and there make the greatest warre to Genova, that possibly they could, supposing, that resolution would from time to time enforme, what course were best to be followed. Then Nicholo assaulted and surprized Serezana, and after many displeasures done, to make the Florentines more suspitious, he came to Lucca, and caused a report to be made, that he intended a journey to Naples in ayde of the King of Aragon.

Genova re-
volted from
the Duke.

Pope Eugenio upon these new accidents, went from Florence to Bologna, where he practised new composition betweene the Duke and the League, perswading the Duke, that if he would not consent to the peace, he should be enforced to deliver the Earle Francesco his confederate,

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at that present remayning in his pay. But notwithstanding the Pope his great indeavour, all his designes prooved vayne, because the Duke, without possession of Genova, would not consent, and the League would refuse, unlesse Genova continued free. Every man then despairing of peace, prepared for the warre.

Nicholo Piccinino being come to Lucca, the Florentines mistrusted no new matter, but caused Neri of Gino to goe with their Souldiers to the countrey of Pisa, obtaining of the Pope, that the Earle Francesco should joyne with him, and so with both their armies together, make head at S. Gonda. Piccinino arrived at Lucca, desired passage to march towards the Kingdome, and being denied, threatned to passe by force. These two armies, were in force and vertue of the Captaines equall, for which respect, neither of them prooved their fortune, being also hindered with the cold weather, for then the moneth of December was begun. In which respects many daies, without one offending the other, they staid. The first of them which marched, was Nicholo Piccinino, who was informed, that if he would in the night assault Vico Pisano, he might easily surprize it. Nicholo tooke the matter in hand, but not prevailing, spoiled and burned the countrey thereabouts, together with Towne of S. Giovanni alla Vena. This enterprise, albeit for the most part thereof to no purpose, yet did the same encourage Nicholo to goe forwards, seeing the Earle and Neri moved not. Therefore he assaulted and possessed Santa Maria in Castello, and Filetto. Yet for all this, the Florentine forces removed not: not because the Earle stood in feare, but because the warre (for the reverence borne to the Pope, who intreated for peace) was not by the Magistrates in Florence determined. And that, which the Florentines by their owne wisdoms were counsailed to do, was thought of the enemy to be done for feare. Which conceite gave them courage, to take new enterprises in hand, so that they determined to besiege Borgo, and before it presented all their forces. This new assault, caused the Florentines to set aside all respects, and not only to rescue Borgo, but also to assault the countrey of Lucca. Then the Earle marching towards Nicholo, and fighting with him neere unto Borgo,

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vanquished his forces, and levied the siege. The Venetians in the meane while, thinking that the Duke had broken the peace, sent Giovan Francesco da Gonzaga their Generall, into Ghiriadada, who spoiling greatly the Dukes countrey, constrained him to revoke Nicholo Piccinino from the enterprise of Toscana. Which revocation, togither with the victorie had against Nicholo, gave the Florentines courage to assault Lucca, with hope to possesse it; Wherein they had neither feare, nor respect at all, seeing the Duke, whome they onely feared, to be assailed by the Venetians: And that the Lucchesi, having received enemies at home, were content to be assaulted, in respect whereof they could not at all complaine.

In the moneth of Aprill, the yeare 1437, the Earle marched with his army, but before the Florentines would assault others, desired to recover their owne, and therefore recovered againe Santa Maria in Castello, with all other places surprized by Piccinino. That done, directed a course to the countrey of Lucca, assailing Ca-Maggiore. The inhabitants whereof, though faithfull to their Lord, yet because feare of the enemy neere at hand, had greater force in them, then the dutie toward their friend farre off, they yelded themselves. And with like reputation was Massa, and Serezana surprized. Which things being done about the end of the moneth of May, the army returned towards Lucca, spoiling the Corne, burning the Villages, cutting the Vines and trees, driving away the Cattle, and not fearing to performe every outrage that souldiers were wont to do unto their enemies. The Lucchesi on the other side, seeing themselves by the Duke abandoned, and despairing to defend their countrey, intrenched and fortified the Cittie by all meanes they possible could. And having men sufficient, hoped they might for a time defend the same, as in former assaults of the Florentines they had done. They only feared the mutable minds of the common people, least they being besieged, would grow wearie, esteeming more their owne private perill, then the libertie of others, and so enforce some dishonourable and dangerous composition. Wherefore to perswade them to take courage, and be resolute in defence of the Cittie, one of the most auntient

Lucca
distressed.

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THE FIFT

BOOKE

The Oration
of the Luc-
chese to
the other
Cittizens.

and wisest Cittizens assembled the people in the market place, and said unto them as followeth.

You ought alwaies to remember, that things done by necessitie, deserve neither commendation nor blame. If therefore you have found fault with these warres which the Florentines do make upon you, and that we have gained in receiving souldiers from the Duke, and suffered them to assault us, you greatly injure your selves. Also, the auncient enimitie of the Florentines towards you is well knowne: whereof, neither your injuries, nor their owne feare, but our weakenesse, and their ambition, hath bene the cause; for that, the one giveth them hope to oppresse you, and the other encouragement to performe the oppression. Do not beleewe that any merit of yours can remove that desire in them, neither any injurie by you done, can more increase the desire they have to offend you. Wherefore, as they do studie to take your libertie from you, so must you labour to defend the same. And, for those things which both they and we do to that end, every man may be sorie, but no man can mervaile. Let us then be sorie that we are assaulted, that our townes are besieged, our houses burned, and our countrey spoiled. Notwithstanding, which of us is so unwise, as to mervaile thereat? For if we were able, we our selves would do the like, or worse to them. If they have moved this warre by the comming of Nicholo, had he not come, they would have done the like upon some other occasion. If this mischief had bene deferred, the same perhaps would have proved greater, so that, this his comming, ought not so much to be blamed, as our evill fortune, and their ambitious nature. For sith we could not refuse to receive the Dukes souldiers, they being come, could not refraine to make the warre. You know well, that without the aide of some mightie Prince, we could not be defended: neither was there any of power sufficient, nor more likely to defend us both with fidelitie and force, then the Duke. Hee hath restored our libertie, and therefore reason would, hee should defend it. He hath bene also enemy to all those that were our auntient enemies. If then by not offending the Florentines, we had incurred the Dukes displeasure, we should thereby have lost our friend,

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and made the enemy more mightie, and more apt to offend us. So as it is much better to have this warre with the Dukes love, then peace with his displeasure. And we may hope well he will deliver us from those dangers, whereunto he hath drawne us, so that we do not forsake him. You know with how great furie the Florentines have diverse times assailed us, and with how great glorie we have often defended our selves against them, even when we had none other hope, but of God and time, the one and the other of them preserved us. And therefore why should we now dispaire to defend our selves? At that time all Italy had abandoned us, but now, the Duke is on our side, and we may also hope that the Venetians will not be hastie to offend us, as men that desire not to increase the Florentines greatnes. Heretofore the Florentines have bene more free, they had also more hope to be aided, of themselves, they were more mightie, and we in every respect weaker then we now are. For at that time we defended a Tyrant, but now we defend our selves. Then the honour of our defence was an other mans, now it is our owne. At that time when they assaulted us, they were united, but now they assaile us disunited, all Italy being full of their Rebels. But if all these hopes were not, yet extreame necessitie ought to make us resolute in our owne defence. Every enemy ought to be by us justly feared, for every of them do seeke their owne glorie and our destruction. But of all others, we ought most to abhorre the Florentines, because our obedience, our tribute, and the subjection of this Cittie do not suffice to content them, but they would also have our bodies and wealth, to the end they might feed their crueltie with our bloud, and fill their covetous desire with our riches. Every man therefore of what sort soever, ought to detest them. Be not therefore dismayed to behold the fields spoiled, the Villages burned, and the Townes sacked. Yet if this Cittie be saved, of necessitie they will be recovered; But if this Cittie be lost, without any our profit they should be saved: Because we continuing our libertie, the enemy shall with difficultie possesse them, but losing our libertie, in vaine we shall possesse them. Take your weapons therefore in hand, and when you fight, beleieve that the renowne of your

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victorie shall be not onely the safetie of our common country, but also of your private houses and children. The last wordes of his speech were with so great comfort of the people received, that with one voyce they promised to dye, rather then yeeld or consent to any composition in prejudice of their libertie: and therefore prepared all things necessarie for defence of the Cittie.

The Lucchesi
pray aide of
the Duke.

In the meane space, the Florentine army lost no time, but after much hurt done to the Countrey, by treatie tooke Monte Carlo, and after removed to Uzano, to the end that the Lucchesi environed on every side, should looke for no rescue, and so by famine force that Cittie to yeeld. The Castle was verie strong, and fully manned, whereby the winning thereof, was not so easie as the others. The Lucchesi seeing their Cittie on every side besieged, did (as reason would) resort to the Duke: To whome, by all manner of perswasions, both sweete and sowre, they recommended themselves. And in their speech, sometimes they made mention of their owne merits, and sometimes they laied before him the injurie done by the Florentines, and what encouragement other his friends would take, if they were defended; or not, what feare might be conceived thereby. But if they should lose their libertie and lives, he should thereby lose his friends and honour, together with the love of all those, that would at every daunger adventure for him. These words were accompanied with teares, to the end, that if his owne obligation moved him not, yet the compassion of their miserie might perswade him. So that the Duke adding to his auntient hate towards the Florentines the new desert of the Lucchesi, and above all, desiring that the Florentines should not grow great by this victorie, resolved, to send mightie forces into Toscana, or else with much furie assault the Venetians, so as, the Florentines should be forced to leave their enterprize and succour them. This resolution made, was speedely advertised to Florence, that the Duke intended to send men into Toscana, which moved the Florentines to hope the lesse of victorie. And to the end the Duke might be holden occupied in Lombardy, they did sollicite the Venetians to set upon him with all their forces. But they were greatly daunted with the departure of the

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Marquesse of Mantova, who had abandoned them, and joyned with the Duke. And therefore being (as it were) disarmed, did answere, they were not only unable to make themselves stronger, but also unfit to continue the warre, unlesse the Earle Francesco were sent unto them, with condition that he should in person passe the River Po. For they would not in any wise allow of the old Capitulations, whereby he stood bound not to passe the River Po. And moreover they alleaged, that without a Captaine they could not make warre, and of other then the Earle, they had no hope. Neither could they imploy him, unlesse he were bound to make warre in all places.

It seemed to the Florentines necessarie, that the warre should be made in Lombardy with great force: yet on the other side, if the Earle were removed from the siege of Lucca, that enterprize were to no purpose. And well they knewe this request made of the Venetians, was not so much of any neede they had of the Earle, as to hinder them of that victorie. Contrary to that allegation was alleaged, that the Earle was prepared to goe into Lombardy, whensoever they of the League should commaund him, yet would he not alter his bond, least thereby he might hinder himselfe in the marriage, promised by the Duke. Thus were the Florentines possessed with two contrarie passions, the desire to winne Lucca, and the feare of the Dukes warres. But (as for the most part it happeneth) feare prevailed, and they content that the Earle having wonne Uzano, should goe into Lombardy. One other difficultie also there was, which not being in the power of the Florentines to dispose, perplexed them more then the former. Which was, that the Earle would not passe the Po, and the Venetians otherwise would not enterteine him. So no meane being to accord them, but that the one must yeeld to the other, the Florentines perswaded the Earle to write a letter, and thereby promise the Senate of Florence to passe the River, which he might do without dishonor, because that private promise should not be any breach of his publike obligation: and notwithstanding he might after make warre without passing the River, yet thereof this commoditie would followe, that the warre being kindled, the Venetians should

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betweene the
Venetians
and the Earle
Francesco.

be forced to followe it, and so the humor which they feared, would be turned another way. But the Venetians on the other side affirmed, that his private Letter did suffice to binde him, and they were therewith satisfied. And if the Earle might still use respects to his Father in law, they would allow thereof: for it was neither profitable to himselfe, or them, without great necessitie to discover him. By this meanes, the passage of the Earle into Lombardy was determined. Who having surprized Uzano, and made some Bulwarks about Lucca, to keepe the Cittizens from issuing out, and recommending the warre to his Deputies, passed the Alps, and went into Reggio. Then the Venetians grew suspitious of his proceedings. And first of all to proove his disposition, required him to passe the River Po, and joyne with their other forces. Which the Earle utterly denied, and many injurious words passed betwixt him and Andrea Mauroceno, sent thither by the Venetians; the one of these accusing the other of much pride, and little fidelitie. The Earle affirming he was not bound to the service, and the other protesting that no paiment should be made. So in the end, the Earle returned into Toscana, and Mauroceno to Venice. The Earle, was by the Florentines lodged in the countrey of Pisa, hoping to perswade him to renew the warre against the Lucchesi. But thereunto they found him not disposed.

The Duke then understanding, that for respect and reverence borne to him, the Earle would not passe the River, he hoped also that by this meanes he might save the Lucchesi; And therefore prayed him to make peace betwixt the Lucchesi and the Florentines, and (if he would) to include him also: Giving him hope, that heeshould, whensoever he pleased, be married unto his daughter. This alliaunce greatly moved the Earle, because thereby hee hoped (the Duke not having any sonnes) to become owner of Milan. For which cause, he ever refused to proceed in the warres as the Florentines did require him, alleaging hee would not marche unlesse the Venetians did performe their payment and promises. Neither was their paie sufficient: for he, being desirous to live secure in his owne Countrey, it behoved him to have other friends then the Florentines.

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Wherefore, if by the Venetians hee were abandoned, then should it behove him to take heed unto his owne doings, and (so seemed) a little to threaten an agreement with the Duke. These cavillations, and these subtilties, highlie offended the Florentines. For thereby they thought the enterprise of Lucca to be lost, and doubted also of their owne estate, if the Duke and the Earle should joyne together. Then to perswade the Venetians to performe the paie promised unto the Earle, Cosimo de Medici went unto Venice, hoping with his credit to perswade them. Being there arrived, he disputed of this matter at large with the Senate, and laide before them the state of Italy, and the daunger thereof. Declaring also, of how great forces and reputation in Armes the Duke was, concluding, that if the Duke did joyne with the Earle, the Venetians should bee forced to retire to the Sea, and the Florentines be in perill of their libertie. Whereunto the Venetians aunswered, that they knewe their owne strength, and the Italian forces, and beleevd they were able ynough to defend themselves. Affirming also, they were not woont to paie Souldiers that served other men. Wherefore it behoved the Florentines, themselves should paie the Earle, sith by him they were served: and that for the safe enjoying their estate, it was more necessarie to keepe downe the Earles insolencie, then to paie him, because men had no boundes wherein to staie their ambition. Also, if hee were nowe paie without any service done, hee would shortly after make some other dishonest and more perillous request. They therefore thought necessarie to bridle his pride, and not suffer the same to increase till it were incorrigible. If then they, either for feare, or for any other intent would continue him a friend, it stood then uppon to paie him themselves. Thus Cosimo returned without other conclusion. The Florentines notwithstanding laboured, that the Earle should not fall from the League, and indeed very unwilling he was to depart. Yet the desire he had to conclude his marriage, did hold him doubtfull, so that the least occasion (as after it came to passe) might lose him. The Earle had appointed his Townes in La Marca to be guarded by a Captaine called Furlano, one of his principall Leaders. Hee having bene

The Venetians and Florentines of divers opinions touching the pay of the Earle their Generall.

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The Earle
Francesco
abandoneth
the Vene-
tians and
Florentines.

long solicited by the Duke, discharged himselfe of the Earles entertainment, and went unto him: which was the cause, that the Earle, (setting aside all respectes) for feare of himselfe, made peace with the Duke. And among other conditions it was agreed, that in the matters of Romagna, and Toscana, the Earle shoulde not intermeddle further. After this peace made, the Earle instantlie perswaded the Florentines to agree with the Lucchesi, and in a sort constrained them. They therefore seeing none other remedie, yeelded to composition in the moneth of Aprill, 1438. In which agreement, the Lucchesi remayned in their libertie, and Monte Carlo, with some other Castles, continued in possession of the Florentines. Afterwards they lamented throughout all Italy, that the Lucchesi could not be brought under their government. And seldome it happeneth that any man hath bene so greatly greeved with losing his owne, as the Florentines were, for not having gotten that which belonged to others. Although then the Florentines were occupied in so great an enterprise, yet were they not forgetfull of their neighbours, nor fayled to furnish their owne Cittie.

The Earle
of Poppi.

At that time (as is before sayd) Nicholo Fortibraccio (who had married the daughter of the Earle of Poppi) was dead. The Earle at the death of Nicholo, had in his possession Borgo A san Sepulcro, with the fortresse of that Towne, which in the name of his sonne in lawe, during his life hee governed. After his death, as the dowrie of his daughter hee held the same, and refused to yeeld that Castle unto the Pope, who claymed it, as lande belonging to the Church. In so much, as the Pope sente the Patriarke thither with Souldiers to recover it. The Earle finding himselfe unable to resist that force, offered the Towne to the Florentines, and they refused it. Yet so soone as the Pope returned to Florence, they travelled betwixt him, and the Earle, to make an agreement. Wherein, finding some difficultie, the Patriarke assaulted Casentino, and surprized Prato Vecchio, and Romena, offering the same likewise to the Florentines. But they would not accept it, unlesse the Pope did firste consent, that they might restore it to the Earle: Wherewith the Pope after much disputation, was

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contented. Yet so, that the Florentines should promise to perswade, that the Earle of Poppi, should restore unto him Borgo. The Popes minde by this meanes satisfied, the Florentines thought good the Cathedrall Church of their Cittie called Santa Reparata, (being long before begun, and now come to such perfection, as divine Ceremonies might therein be celebrate) to desire his holinesse, that personally he would consecrate the same. Whereunto the Pope willingly consented, and for more magnificence of the Cittie, the Temple, and the Pope, a Tarrace was made, from Santa Maria Novella, where the Pope lay, unto the Church which he should consecrate, the same being in bredth foure yards, and in height three, and of both sides it was covered with exceeding rich cloth. Upon this Tarrace, only the Pope with his Court, and the Cittizens especially appointed to attend him did go. All the rest of the Cittizens and people stood in the streets, in their houses, and in the Temple, to behold the same. When all ceremonies belonging to so great a consecration, were finished, the Pope, in token of more love, honored Guiliano de Avanzati with Knighthood, being at that present Gonfaloniere de Justitia, and in al times accounted a noble and notable Cittizen, whereunto the Senate, to seeme no lesse desirous then the Pope of his advancement, gave unto him the Captaineship of Pisa for one yeare.

About this time, some difference grew betwixt the Churches of Rome and Greece, touching the divine Service. And forasmuch as in the last Councell holden at Basilea, much had bene sayd in that matter by the Prelates of the West Church, it was determined by the Emperours, that great diligence should be used to unite them, and was concluded in the Councell of Basilea, that prooffe should be made whether the Gretian Church might be brought to concurre with that of Rome. Albeit this resolution was contrarie to the majestie of the Gretian Emperour, and the pride of his Prelates to yeeld unto the Bishop of Rome, yet the Emperour being oppressed by the Turkes, and fearing that the Gretians could not be defended by themselves, the rather also to live in securitie, and be ayded of others, determined to give place. Then the Emperour accompanied

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The Gretian
Church sub-
mitteth to the
Church of
Rome.

New troubles
in Lombardy
and Toscana.

with the Patriarke, the Prelates and Barons of Greece, according to the order taken by the Councill of Basilea, came unto Venice. Which Cittie being infected with the plague, it was determined, that the matter should be tried in the Cittie of Florence. After many dayes of disputation, betwixt the Prelates of the Romaine and Gretian Churches, the Gretians submitted themselves to the Bishop of Rome. Then was the peace concluded betwixt the Lucchesi and the Florentines. And was also hoped, that the warres betwixt the Duke and the Earle (chiefely in Lombardy and Toscana) might easily be pacified, because that warre which was begunne in the Kingdome of Naples, betwixt Rinato de Angio, and Alfonso of Arragon, should of force take end by the ruine of those two. And although the Pope was evill contented for the losse of many his Townes, and that therewithall, the great ambition of the Duke and the Venetians was apparant, yet every man supposed, that the Pope for necessitie, and the others for wearinesse, would lay downe their armes. But the matter came otherwise to passe, for neither the Duke, nor the Venetians, would be quiet. By reason whereof, it fell out that they tooke Armes anew, and made warre in the most places of Lombardy and Toscana. The great minde of the Duke, could not endure that the Venetians should possesse Bergamo and Brescia: And the rather, seeing them prepared for the warres, and every day molesting and disquieting his Countrey. He therefore thought, that if they might be abandoned by the Florentines, and the Earle, he should not onely bridle them, but also recover his owne. To compasse that concept, he intended to take Romagna from the Church, judging that afterwards the Pope could not offend him. And the Florentines, seeing the fire at hand, either they would not stirre for feare, or if they did, they could not conveniently assault him. The Duke also knewe the displeasure betwixt the Florentines and the Venetians, for the matters of Lucca, and for that cause, supposed the Florentines were the lesse willing to take Armes for them. As for the Earle Francesco, he thought that the newe friendship, and hope of the marriage, should suffice to hold him assured. Also, to flie all offence, and give the

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lesse occasion to all others to take Armes, and chiefly, for that he was bound by the Capitulations with the Earle, not to assault Romagna, he caused Nicholo Piccinino (as thereto moved by his owne ambition) to take that enterprise in hand. At such time as the reconciliation was concluded betwixt the Duke and the Earle, Nicholo remained in Romagna, and seemed much discontent with that new friendship made with the sayd Duke and the Earle his perpetuall enemy. He therefore with his souldiers retired to Camurata (a place betwixt Furli and Ravenna) where he fortified himselfe to remaine, till such time as some other resolution was taken. The fame of his anger being blowne about every where, Nicholo gave the Pope to understand of his well deserving of the Duke, and with what ingratitude he was requited. He also alleaged, that the Duke through the helpe of principall Captaines, had wonne all the souldiers of Italy to be at his commaundement. Notwithstanding, if his holinesse were so pleased, he could procure, that of these two Captaines, the one should proove enemy to the Duke, and the other unprofitable. For accomplishment whereof, if money were prepared, and the warres continued, he would so assault the Earle, who had surprized the townes belonging to the Church, as he should have ynough to defend his owne, and not be able to follow the ambition of Philipppo. The Pope gave credit to these words, seeming to him reasonable, and sent unto Nicholo five thousand Duckets, with many faire promises, offering to give lands to him, and his sonnes. And although the Pope were diverse wayes advertised of this deceit, yet he beleevved well, and was not content to heare any thing to the contrarie.

The Cittie of Ravenna was then governed for the Pope by Octacio da Polenta. Nicholo thinking good, not to deferre his enterprise (because his sonne had already with the ignomie of the Pope sacked Spoletto) determined to assault Ravenna: (either because he judged the enterprise easie, or that he had some secret intelligence with Octacio) within few dayes he tooke the Towne by composition, and shortly after Bologna, Imola, and Furli, were by him surprized. Also (as a thing more mervailous) of twentie Castles which were in those countries holden for the Pope, there

The Popes
countrie
spoyled by
Ni. Piccinino.

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was not one that refused to yeeld unto Nicholo. Neither did it suffice him with this injurie to offend the Pope, but he would also to these deeds mock and deride him in words: Wrichting unto the Pope, that upon just cause his Townes were surprized, because he had broken the friendship betwixt the Duke and him: and written letters to many places of Italy, signifying, that he (the Earle) had abandoned the Duke, and joyned with the Venetians. Nicholo thus possessing Romagna, left the same in charge to his sonne Francesco, and himselfe with the greater part of his army went into Lombardy. Where joyning with the remaine of the Dukes forces, he assayed the Countrey of Brescia, which in short space he tooke, and besieged the Cittie. The Duke, who desired that the Venetians should be left for him as a pray, scused himselfe to the Pope, to the Florentines, and to the Earle: declaring, that those things which had bene done in Romagna by Nicholo, if they were contrarie to the Capitulations, they were likewise contrarie to his will. Moreover, by secret messengers he gave them to understand, that for his disobedience (as occasion and time should suffer) he would finde meanes to have him punished. The Florentines and the Earle gave no credit thereunto, but beleaved (as in deede the truth was) that these warres were made to hold them occupied, till such time as he might oppresse the Venetians: who, being full of pride, and beleaving they could by themselves resist the Dukes forces, did not vouchsafe to demaund aid of any man, but with Gatamelata their Captaine, made warre alone. The Earle Francesco with the favour of the Florentines, intended to have gone to the aide of King Rinato, if the accidents of Romagna and Lombardy had not withholden him. And the Florentines would also willingly have favoured that enterprise, for the auncient friendship betweene them, and the house of Fraunce. But the one and the other of those, being occupied in the warres neere at hand, refrained to attempt any enterprise further off.

The Florentines then seeing Romagna surprized by the Dukes forces, and the Venetians assaulted (as those that by the ruine of others did feare their owne) desired the Earle to come into Toscana, there to consider what was to be done

Gatamelata
Generall for
the Venetians.

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to encounter the forces of the Duke, which were greater then ever they had bene. Affirming, that if his insolencie were not by some meanes bridled, every man that governed any part of Italy, should within short space be oppressed. The Earle knew well that the Florentines had reason to feare. Notwithstanding, the desire he had to proceed in the marriage with the Dukes daughter, did make him suspected. And the Duke knowing his desire, gave him great hope thereof, if he would refuse to take armes against him. And because the Dukes daughter was alreadie marriageable, the matter was brought to this ripenesse, that all things for the purpose were prepared. Notwithstanding, with diverse cavillations, the marriage day was delayed, yet by words to hold the Earle in hope, some deeds were performed: and to that end thirtie thousand Florins (according to the Articles agreed upon for the marriage) were sent unto him, notwithstanding the warre of Lombardy increased, and the Venetians every day lost some Towne or other. Also, all the vessels for the warres, which they sent into the Rivers, were by the Dukes Souldiers taken. The Countries of Verona, and Brescia, were all spoiled: and both those Citties so straightly besieged, as in the common opinion, it was hard for them to be many dayes defended.

The Marquesse of Mantova, who had bene many yeares Generall for that State, beyond all expectation had abandoned them, and was joyned with the Duke, so as that which in the beginning of the warres their pride suffered not, afterwards feare inforced them to do. For knowing none other remedie but the friendship of the Florentines, and the Earle, they began to speake them faire, though shamefully, and with suspition, bicause they feared least the Florentines would make them the same answere, which they at the enterprise of Lucca, and in the Earles cause had received at their hands. Neverthesse, they found the Florentines more easily intreated, then either they hoped, or their deserts did merit. For greater was the Florentines hate to a friend become a foe, then the displeasure they bare to old and auncient enemy. They having long before knowne the necessitie whereunto the Venetians would fail, declared to the Earle, that their ruine would be also his:

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Perswasions
of the Venetians and
Florentines
to the Earle
not to abandon them.

and that hee deceived himselfe, if hee beleewed the Duke Philippo would esteeme him so much in his good, as his evill fortune. For the occasion why the Duke offered his daughter unto him, was the feare wherein he stood: and sith things promised by necessitie, are never performed without necessitie, it behoved him still to hold the Duke distressed, which without the greatnesse of the Venetians, could not be done. Therefore, hee ought to thinke, that if the Venetians were forced to abandon their Countrey uppon the firme land, he should not onely want those commodities which he received by them, but also all others, which of other men for feare of them he might attaine unto. And if hee considered well the other states of Italy, he should finde some of them poore, and some others his enemies. Neither were the Florentines alone (as hee had often sayd) of force sufficient to mainteine him. So as, on every side it appeared, that for him it was necessarie, to mainteine the Venetians mightie uppon the land. These perswasions joyned with the hate which the Earle had conceived of the Duke, for being mocked in the marriage, caused him consent to the composition, yet would hee not at that time be bound to passe the River of Po. These compositions were made in the moneth of February, the yeare 1438. Wherein, the Venetians did covenant to defraie two thirds, and the Florentines one third of the charge. And both of them together at their common charge, entred obligation to defend the lands which the Earle had woon in La Marca. Neither was this League contented with these forces, but unto them they joyned the Lord of Faenza, the sonnes of Pandolfo Malatesta of Rimini, and Pietro Giampagolo Orsino. And although with great promises they had perswaded the Marquesse of Mantova, yet could they not remove him from the friendship and paie of the Duke. Also the Lord of Faenza, after that the League was settled, finding a better bargaine, revolted to the Duke, which deprived the League of hope, to be able to performe the enterprises entended in Romagna.

In these dayes, Lombardy remained thus troubled, Brescia was besieged with the Dukes forces, so straightly as everie day was feared that for famine it should be forced

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to yeeld. And Verona became so invironed with enemies, that it doubted the like end, and if any of the two Cities were lost, every man judged all the other preparations for the wars would be to no effect, and the charges till that time made, utterly lost. Neither was there found any other certaine remedy, then to procure, that the Earle Francesco might passe into Lombardy: Wherein were three difficulties, the one in perswading the Earle to passe the River of Po, and make warre in all places. The second, that the Florentines seemed to be at the discretion of the Duke, if the Earle should goe from them. The third was, what way the Earle with his forces should take, to convey himselfe into the country of Padoa, where the rest of the Venetians forces remained. Of these three difficulties, the second which appertained to the Florentines, was most to be doubted. Notwithstanding they knowing the necessitie and being weary of the Venetians, who with all importunitie desired the Earle, (saying that without him, they should be abandoned) they preferred the necessitie of others before the suspicion of themselves. There remained also one other doubt, which way they should go, and how the same might be made assured by the Venetians. Moreover, because the handling of this contract with the Earle, and the perswading him to pass the River Po, was appointed to Neri, the sonne of Gino Capponi, the Senate thought good to send him expressly to Venice, to make that faviour the more acceptable there, and to take order for the way, and safe passage of the Earle. Then was Neri dispatched from Cesena, and in a Boate conveyed to Venice: where, by the Senate hee was received with more honour, then ever any Prince before that time had bene. For upon his comming, and that which by him should be determined, they thought the welfare of their dominion depended. Neri then being brought to presence of the Senate, spake as followeth.

Most Noble Prince, my Lords who have sent mee, were hitherto ever of opinion, that the greatnesse of the Duke, would be the ruine both of this state and their own Common-weale. So that, the well doing of these states, must be your greatnesse and ours also. If this had bene by

The Oration
of Neri Cap-
poni to the
Senate of
Venice.

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your Lordships beleeeved, we should be now in better condition, and your state assured from those perils, which presently do threaten it. But because that in time convenient, you have neither given us ayd, nor countenance, we could not readily procure remedie for your harmes, nor you, speedily demaund it : as men which both in adversitie and prosperitie knew not how to behave your selves ; forgetting that we are of such disposition, as whom we once love, we will love ever ; and whom we hate, we will hate ever. The good will which we have ever borne to this most Noble Senate, your selves do know, and have oftentimes seene, by the aide we have given you both in mony and men. The displeasure which we have borne to Philipppo, is such, as we will alwaies beare towards his house, and so the world knoweth. Neither is it possible that auncient hatred, can be either by new desertes or new displeasures cancelled. We were and are assured, that in this war, we might with great honour have stood indifferent to the Duke, and with no great daunger to our selves. For though he had bene by your ruine become Lord of Lombardy, yet had there remained so much force in Italy, as we need not to have dispaired of our well doing, because he encreasing in state and power, the enmitie, and envie towards him would have also encreased. Of which two things, warre and displeasure be engendred. We knew also how great charges by eschuing this war, we should have avoyded how eminent perils we should have escaped : and how this warre, by our meanes might be removed from Lombardy into Toscana. Notwithstanding all these suspicions have bene, by our auncient affection borne to your state, cancelled : and we have determined to aide you, with the same readie good will, wherewith we will defend our own, if the same should be assaulted. Wherefore my Lords, judging it before all other things most necessarie, to succour Verona and Brescia, and thinking also that without the Earle the same could not be, they have sent me hither, first to perswade him to come into Lombardy, and make war in all places : he being heretofore (as you know) bound not to passe the River of Po. Therefore I used with him those reasons, wherewith we our selves be moved. And he,

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(as he seemeth) by Armes invincible, wil not be overcome with curtesie. And that liberallitie which he sawe us use towards you, he hath bene pleased to surpassse the same. For knowing well in how great perils, after his departure, Toscana remained, and seeing that we haue more regarded your perill, then our owne well doing; is also content to preferre the same, before his owne. I am therefore now come here, to offer you the Earle with seven thousand horse, and two thousand foote men; readie to assaulte the enemye in what place soever he may finde him. I beseech you then, (and my Lords also do intreate you) that as the number of his souldiers is greater than his obligation, wherby he bound himself to serve, so it may please you, that your liberallitie towards him may be likewise enlarged. To the end, that neither he shall repent his comming to your service, nor we be sorie to have perswaded him thereunto.

This speech pronounced by Neri, was with no lesse attention heard of the Senate, then if from the mouth of some Oracle, the same had proceeded. For by his words all the audience was so mooved, that they would not suffer the Prince (as is the custome) to make any answer: But everie man stood up, and many of them weeping for joy, held up their hands, thanking the Florentines for so friendly an offer, and him, for having with so great diligence and speede performed the same. Promising moreover, never to forget that favoure, nor that any time, either in themselves or in their posteritie, should cancell the memorie of this merite. And that their Common-weale, should be as much at the Florentines commandement, as their owne. These curtesies and congratulations ended, they consulted what way the Earle might march, to the end, that the bridges and passages should be prepared. Foure waies were then thought upon whereby he might passe. The one from Ravenna, by the sea side: which being narrow and full of marishes, was not liked. An other was by the direct way, which being impeached by a Fortresse called Uccellino, kept for the Duke, the same ought to be surprized before the Armie should march further; which was heard to do in so short a time, unlesse the occasion of the enterprise were omitted, the same requiring great diligence and speede.

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The third was by the wood of Lago, where because the River of Po was overflowed, to passe that way, seemed not onely hard, but also impossible. The fourth was by the Champion of Bologna, from thence to Ponte Pulidrano, to Cento, through Finale, and Bondeno, and so to Farrara: From whence by water and land, they might be conveyed into Padovana, there to joyne with the Venetian forces. In this way, albeit there was manie difficulties, and might by the enemye, in some places be impeached: yet was it thought the best of all others. Whereof the Earle advertised, with great speed began his journey, and on the twentieth of June, arrived in Padovana.

The comming of this Captaine into Lombardy, made Venice, and all the countrie thereto belonging, in great hope, for as they seemed before to dispaire, now they began to hope, not onely to hold their owne, but also to win from others. The Earle first of all went to the rescue of Verona, and the rather to meete with Nicholo, and his Armie he marched to Soave, a Castle builded betwixt Vicentino and Veronesi, and invironed by a ditch: which reached from Soave to the marish of Adice. The Earle seeing his passage by the plaine stopped, thought to passe by the mountaines, and by that way to come neare to Verona; Supposing Nicholo did not thinke, that he would take that way being unpleasant and mountainous: or if he did, he could not in time come thither to impeach him. Wherefore being provided of victuals for eight daies, hee and his men passed the mountaine and arrived under Soave, in the plaine. Where, albeit some bulwarks had bene made by Nicholo, yet were they not such as staied his passage, Nicholo then seeing the enemye above his expectation come thither, fearing to fight upon disadvantage, retired himselfe on the other side of Adice: and the Earle without anie obstacle, entred into Verona. Thus the Earle having performed the first enterprise, which was to remove the siege, the second yet remained, to rescue Brescia. This Citie is so seated upon the river of Garda, the scite wherof is such that though it be besieged by land, yet may it be victualled by water: which was the cause, why the Duke put so great forces upon that Lage, and in the beginning of his victories,

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had surprized all those townes which by the Lage could relieve Brescia. The Venetians had also Gallies upon the Lage, but they were not of power enough to fight with the Dukes forces. The Earle therefore thought fit with some more souldiers to strengthen the Navie, and win those townes which withheld the vittails from Brescia. He therefore brought his Campe before Bandolino, a Castle upon the Lage, hoping if that were wonne, the rest would presently yeeld. In that enterprise fortune disfavoured the Earle, for the greatest number of his men fell sicke: so as, leaving the enterprise, hee went unto Zeno, a castle belonging to Verona, where the country is plentiful, and the aire wholesome. Nicholo seeing the Earle retired: not to omit occasion to possesse himselfe of the Lage, left his Campe at Vegatio, and with some choise men went unto the Lage. There, with great furie, he assaulted the Venetian Armie, and tooke welneare all their Gallies. After this victorie, almost all the Castles upon the Lage, yeelded unto Nicholo. The Venetians dismaid at his losse, and fearing thereby, that they of Brescia would yeeld also, solicited the Earle, both by Letters and Messengers, to make speed to succour it. But the Earle seeing that by the Lage there was no hope to relieve it, and by land it was impossible, by reason of ditches, bulwarkes, and trenches, made by Nicholo, so as, whosoever should enter, must go to present destruction; determined to prove the way of the mountains: wherby, as he had before saved Verona, so he hoped perhaps to rescue Brescia. The Earle for the atchiving thereof, departed from Zeno, and by the Vale of Acrine, marched to the Lage of S. Andrea, and came to Torboli, and Penda, upon the Lage of Garda. From thence he went to Tenna, and there pitched his Campe: because, to passe from thence to Brescia, it behooved him to surprise that Castle. Nicholo understanding the intent of the Earle, brought his Armie to Pischiera: and after with the Marquesse of Mantova, and some of his owne choise souldiers, marched towards the Earle, and fighting together, Nicholo was overthrowne. Some part of his men were taken prisoners, an other part retired to the Armie, and the third part, fled to the Navie.

The Campe
of Nicholo
Piccinino
defeated.

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Nicholo then, retired himselfe into Tenna, and the night being come, imagined he could not escape from thence, if he tarried til the next day. Wherefore to eschue that perill certaine, he adventured a daunger doubtfull.

Nicholo had amongst many his servants one Almaine, a man of great strength, and to him above others, ever most faithfull. Nicholo perswaded this man, that if hee would put him into a sacke, he might upon his shoulders (as though he were some other thing) carry him to some place, from whence he might escape. At this time the Campe yet remained about Tenna. Neverthesse, by meanes of the victorie the day before, no great order or watch was taken, so that this Almaine, the more easily might convey his maister. Wherefore taking him upon his shoulders, (as though he were some other burthen, himselfe being apparelled like a Porter) he passed through the Camp without any let, and so saved his maister. This victorie, if it had bene well used, as it was happily wonne, had much better releevd Brescia: and the Venetians thereby should have proved more happie. But the same being evill used, the joy thereof was the lesse; and Brescia remained in the same distresse that it was before. For Nicholo having recovered souldiers, determined with them some new victorie, to blot out the dishonour of the late losse, and take from the Venetians the meane whereby they should rescue Brescia. He having intelligence from some prisoners taken in that war, that the Cittadell of Verona was weakely manned and guarded; so as, easily it might be surprized: thought that Fortune thereby had offered an occasion to recover his honour; and that the new joy of his enemie, for the late victorie, should now for a later losse, be converted into sorrow.

The Citie of Verona is in Lombardy, seated at the foote of those mountaines which divide Italy from Germany: and is so builded, as it partaketh both of the mountaines and the plaine. The River of Adice springeth out of the Vale of Trento, and in the course thereof to Italy, it descendeth not straight into the plaine, but turneth on the left hand, and passeth by the midst of that Cittie. Yet the one part of the Citie towards the plaine, is greater then the other part towards the mountaines. Upon these be built two

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Piccinino
desirous to
recover his
honor.

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Fortresses, the one called S. Piero, and the other S. Felice; which seeme more strong by nature of the seate, then the thicknesse of the wall. For being set high, they commaund the whole Citie. In the plain on this side the Adice, are joyning to the wall of the towne, two other Fortresses, the one distant from the other a thousand paces, one of them is named the newe Cittadella, and the other the old Cittadella. From the one of these within, there passeth a wall to the other, and is in respect of the compasse, as it were a string to a bowe. All this space betwixt the one wall and the other is inhabited, and called Borgo di San Zeno. These fortresses, and this Borgo, Nicholo Piccinino intended to sirprize, thinking the same easie, as well for the negligence of the guard therein, as the small care had thereof, by meanes of the late victory. For he knew well, that in the warre there is no enterprise so easily performed, as is that, which the enemie feareth not. Hee therefore making choyse of his men, being acquainted with the Marquesse of Mantova, in the night marched to Verona, and not being there looked for, scaled the walles, and wanne the new Cittadell. From thence he sent his men into the towne, who brake the gate of S. Antonio: and thereby all his horsemen entred. Those that for the Venetians kept the old Cittadell, hearing first a noyse when the guard of the first Cittadell was slaine, and after when the gates were broken open: knew well that enemies were come, made Alarum, rung Belles, and stirred up the people. Whereof the Citizens taking knowledge, came out in a confused sort: those that were of most courage, tooke Armes and went unto the Pallace of the Rettore. In the meane while, Nicholo had sacked Borgo of S. Zeno. Then going forward, the Citizens knowing that the Dukes souldiers were within the towne, and seeing no way to resist them, perswaded the Venetians Rettore to flee to the Fortresse, thereby to save their persons, and the towne: saying it was better to preserve their lives, and the riches of the citie, till a time more fortunate; then for the encountring of the present furie, to die themselves, and utterly impoverish the citie. Then the Rettore, and all other Venetians whatsoever, fled into the Fortresse of S. Felice. Which done, many of the

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prized by
Nicholo
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chiefe Citizens came to Nicholo and to the Marquesse of Montova, beseeching, that it would please them, to take that citie with honour, as it was rich, rather then with their shame, to suffer it to be made poore and spoyled. And the rather, because they had neither deserved well of their chiefe Lords, nor in defence of the town merited any mallice of Nicholo or the Marquesse. Then were they, both by Nicholo and the Marquesse comforted, and (as much as in furie of the warre might possibly be) defended from the spoyle. Nicholo thinking assuredly, that the Earle would come to recover the Towne, laboured by everie meane to get into his hands all the strong places; and those which hee could not get, with trenches and ditches were divided from the Towne: to the end, that the enemie should passe in with more difficultie.

The Earle Francesco was with his men at Tenna, and hearing those newes, at the first thought the same untrue, but after being better advertised of the troth, thought good by speedie proceeding, to amend his former negligence. And albeit his chiefe Captaines of the Campe, did counsell him to leave the enterprise of Verona and Brescia, and go to Vicenza, for not being besieged of the enemie during his aboad there; yet would hee not be perswaded by them, but in any wise trie his fortune to recover that citie: and in the midst of these doubtfull imaginations, promised the Proveditore of Venice, and Barnardo de Medici, the Florentine Generall, certainly to recover the Citie, if any of the Fortresses did remaine untaken till he came thither. Then giving order for his journey, he with his souldiers in great haste marched towards Verona. Whom, Nicholo seeing, thought good, as he had bene counselled by his Captaines, to go to Vicenza. Yet finding that the enemies marched towards the Towne, directing their course to S. Felice, he determined to defend that Fort: but all too late, because the trenches about the Castle were not finished, and the souldiers (for covetousnesse of the spoyle) were divided among themselves, so that he could not come thither soone inough. For the Earles souldiers had before approached the Fortresse, and from thence with good successe and dishonour of Nicholo, recovered the citie. Who together with

Verona re-
covered by
the Earle
Francesco.

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the Marquesse of Mantova fled first to the Cittadell, and from thence, to Mantova. Where assembling the remaine of their saved souldiers, they joyned with the others, that besieged Brescia. Thus was Verona in foure daies by the Dukes Army, both wonne and lost. The Earle after this victorie (being at that time winter, and the cold great) had with much difficultie victualled Brescia, and went to remain in Verona: giving order, that certaine Gallies should tarry that winter at Torbali, to the end, that at the spring of the next yeare, he might be strong both by sea and land for the rescue of Brescia.

The Duke seeing the warre for that time staied, and his hope to surprise Verona and Brescia remooved, wherof the Councell, and the money of the Florentines was the occasion, and that they could not be altered from the love of the Venetians, for any injurie they had received of them, nor for any promise he could make them; determined (to the end they should shortly reape fruite of those seedes they had sowne) to assault Toscana: being therto encouraged by the banished men of Florence, and by Nicholo. Nicholo was thereto moved with the desire he had to winne the possessions of Braccio, and drive the Earle out of La Marca. And the Florentines desired to returne to their Country. So either of these, with reasons according to their owne desire, perswaded the Duke. Nicholo tolde him, that himselfe might be sent into Toscana, and Brescia might neverthelesse be still besieged; for the Duke was Lorde of the Lage, and had the strong places belonging to the Towne well furnished: the Captaines there remaining, and men inough to encounter the Earle whensoever he should attempt any other enterprise; which without the rescue of Brescia hee could not, and to rescue it, was impossible. So that he might make war in Toscana, and yet not leave the enterprise in Lombardy. Hee told him moreover, that the Florentines were enforced so soone as he came into Toscana, to revoke the Earle, or else lose it: so that if any of these two things came to passe, the victorie would follow. The banished men alledged, that if Nicholo with his Army did drawe neare to Florence, it was impossible but that the people (being wearie of charges, and the

The Duke
perswaded by
Nicholo and
the banished
Florentines,
to assault
Toscana.

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insolency of the great men) would take Armes against the Governours. They shewed also how easie it was to approach Florence, promising to make the way open through Casentino, by meanes of the friendship which Rinaldo had with that Earle. Thus the Duke, first disposed of himselfe, and after confirmed by perswasions of these men, resolved upon this enterprise. The Venetians on the other part, notwithstanding the bitterness of the winter, failed not to call upon the Earle with all his forces to succor Brescia. Which the Earle answered could not be in that time done, but of force it must tarrie the spring of the yeare: and in the mean time prepare an Army by water, so as both by water and land it might at time convenient be releevd. Hereupon the Venetians became sorie and slow in all their provisions, which was the cause that in their Army many people died. Of all these things the Florentines being advertised, began to mistrust: seeing the warre at hand, and no great good done in Lombardy. The suspition also which they had of the Popes souldiers, did greatly perplex them: not because the Pope was their enemy, but for that they sawe those souldiers more obedient to the Patriarke, their mortall foe, more then to the Pope himselfe.

The Patriarke
of Alessandria
Generall for
the Pope.

Giovanni Vittelleschi Cornetano, was first Notarie Apostolicall, after Bishop of Ricanati, then Patriark of Alessandria, and at length after all these dignities, become Cardinall, and was called the Cardinall of Florence. This Cardinall being a man both couragious and craftie, and such a one, as was by the Pope so greatly beloved, as thereby he became Generall of all the forces belonging to the Church: and was Captaine in all enterprises that the Pope tooke in hand, either in Toscana, Romagna, the Kingdome, or the Citie of Rome. Whereby he wonne such reputation among the people, and so great authoritie under the Pope, that the Pope himselfe stood in doubt how to commaund him, and the people did onely obey him, and no other. At such time as the newes came, that Nicholo would passe into Toscana, this Cardinall with his company happened to be at Rome: whereby the Florentines feare was doubled, because that Cardinall after the banishment of Rinaldo, had ever bene enemy to Florence: for that the

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pacification among the factions of Florence made by his meanes, were not observed, but all things done to the prejudice of Rinaldo, who had bene the occasion that Armes were laid down, which gave his enemies good means to banish him. Then the Governors of the state, imagined the time come to restore Rinaldo of his losses, if with Nicholo (being come into Toscana) they joyned their forces: but therof they doubted the more by the untimely departure of Nicholo from Lombardy, who left there an enterprise halfe wonne, to begin an other more doubtfull: which he would not do, without some new intelligence, and secret subtiltie. Of this their mistrust they had enformed the Pope, who knew his owne errour in giving to an other overmuch authoritie. But when the Florentines stood thus doubtfull what to do, Fortune found then a meane, whereby to assure the Patriarke. That state, in those times maintained diligent espials, to discover what Letters were brought too and fro, and thereby conceived, if any thing were practised to the prejudice thereof. It happened that at Monte Pulliciano, some Letters were taken, which the Patriarke without consent of the Pope, wrote unto Nicholo Piccinino. Those Letters by the Generall of the warre, were presently sent unto the Pope; And although they were written in Carects unused, so as no certaine sence could be made of them: yet this obscuritie, together with the practise of the enemye, bred so great suspition in the Pope, as he determined to assure himselfe. The charge of this action he committed to Antonio Rido of Padova, being then Captaine of the Castle in Rome. Rido having received this Commission, was readie to obey the Popes commandement, aspecting an opportunitie to performe the same. The Patriarke being determined to goe into Toscana, and minding the next day to depart from Rome, desired the Captaine Rido to attend for him in the morning upon the Castle Bridge, at such time as hee should passe that way. Antonio Rido thought then a good occasion was presented: and gave order to his men what to do, tarrying for the comming of the Patriarke, uppon the Bridge, which way of necessitie he must passe, hard by the Castle. So soone as hee was arrived uppon that part, which used to be

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The Pa. friend
to Rinaldo
de Albizi.

The pope
seeketh to
depose the
Patriarke.

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The Patriarke
made pri-
soner.

drawne up, Rido gave his men a signe to drawe the Bridge and shut the Patriarke into the Castle, which was performed. So as of a Generall to the Armie, the Patriarke was become a prisoner in the Castle. The people that followed him, at the first murmured, but understanding the Popes pleasure, pacified themselves. The Captaine did comfort him with curteous wordes, and perswaded him to hope well. To whome the Patriarke aunswered, that great personages were not wont first to be apprehended, and after set at libertie. For those that deserve imprisonment, did not merite to bee enlarged, and so shortly after died in prison.

After his death, the Pope appointed Generall of his Armie, Lodovico Patriarke of Aquilea. Who albeit before that time would not intermeddle with the warre, betwixt the League and the Duke; yet was then content to take the same in hande: promising to be readie to defende Toscana with foure thousande Horse, and two thousande footemen. The Florentines delivered of this feare, stood yet in doubt of Nicholo, and mistrusted the confusion of matters in Lombardy, by reason of the diversitie of opinions betwixt the Venetians and the Earle. Wherefore, to bee more fullie advertised, of their mindes, they sent Neri the sonne of Gino Capponi, and Guiliano de Avanzati, to Venice. Whom they gave in Commission, to determine in what sorte the Warre shoulde bee made the next yeare following. Commaunding Neri, that so soone as hee understoode the mindes and opinions of the Venetians, hee shoulde goe unto the Earle, to knowe his; and perswade him to those thinges, which for the welfare of the League shoulde bee thought meete and necessarie. These Embassadors beeing in their journey not so farre as Farrara, had intelligence, that Nicholo Piccinino with sixe thousande horse was passed the Po. Which newes moved them to make the more speede. Being arrived at Venice, they found the Senate fully determined, that Brescia without any delaie should be rescued, because, that Cittie, could neither tarry unreleeved till the next Spring, nor till the Navie by water were prepared; but should be enforced for want of aide, to yeelde unto the enemie: which would make the Duke victorious, and occasion the losse of all their state, upon

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the firme land. Neri therefore went from thence to Verona, to heare what the Earle could alledge to the contrary. Who by many reasons declared, that for the present, it were no furtherance, but rather an impeachment of the enterprise to march towards Brescia. For, considering the season of the yeare, and the seate of the Cittie, no good could be done, but great disorder, and to the souldiers great trouble would follow thereof. So that, when the Spring should be come, and the season fit for the action, the Army must be enforced to returne to Verona, for provision of those things, which the winter had consumed. By reason whereof, all the time fit for warre, should be spent in going and returning. There was sent to Verona with the Earle for the consultation of these matters, Orsato Giustiniani, and Giovan Pisani. With these Commissioners after much disputation, it was concluded, that the Venetians should give unto the Earle for the next yeare to come, fourescore thousand Duckettes, and to everie one of his souldiers, fortie. And that they should sollicite the Earle to march with his whole Armie, and assault the Duke. To the ende, that hee, for feare of his owne countrey should be forced to revoke Nicholo into Lombardy. After which conclusion, the Embassadors returned to Venice.

Resolution of
the League,
against the
Duke.

Nicholo Piccinino in this meane space proceeded in his journey, and was arrived at Romagna: where he perswaded so far with the sonnes of Pandolpho Malatesta, that they abandoned the Venetians, and joyned with the Duke. These newes were displeasing to the Venetians, and much more displeasing to the Florentines, because they hoped by that way to have resisted Nicholo. But seeing the Malatesti rebelled, they were thereat amazed, and the more, for the feare they had that Giampagolo Orsino, their Captaine, (who at that time was in the countrey of Malatesti) should be defeated, and they so disarmed. These occurrents also dismayed the Earle, fearing to lose La Marca, if Nicholo passed into Toscana. And intending to goe unto the rescue of his owne, came first to Venice, where he declared unto the Prince, that his comming into Toscana, was unprofitable for the League. Because the warre was ever to be made, where the Armie and Generall of the enemy is, and not

The speech
of the Earle
Francesco to
the Senate of
Venice.

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The Vene-
tians answer
to the Earle.

where their Townes are, or their private Garrisons. For if the Armie bee overthrowne the warre is ended : but though the Townes be wonne, and the Armie be left whole, the warres for the most part becommeth more lively. Then hee enformed him, that La Marca and Toscana were lost, if good resistance were not made against Nicholo. Of which losse, Lombardy had no remedie. Or if it had, hee meant not to abandon his owne subjects and friendes. For, being come a Lorde into Lombardy, hee would not depart thence, as a private Captaine. Heereunto the Prince aunswered, it was a thing most manifest, that if he did goe from Lombardy, and with his Armie repasse the Po, that all their state uppon the firme land, should be lost, and that they would not spend any more upon the defence therof. For it were follie, to defend a thing, which by no meane could be holden. And lesse dishonour it were to lose the countries onely, then to lose the country and their money also. But if it should so fall out, that these things were lost, it should thereby appeare how greatly it stood the Venetians uppon, to defende Toscana and Romagna. They were therefore altogether contrarie to his opinion, for they beleaved that whosoever were victorious in Lombardy, could also have victorie in all other places. And it was easie to have the victorie, because the Duke and his country was become weake by the departure of Nicholo : so as hee might be oppressed, before that either hee could revoke Nicholo, or be provided of other remedie. Moreover, who so wisely considereth all things, should see, that the Duke had sent Nicholo into Toscana, to no other end, then to remoove the Earle from those enterprises, and make that war in other places, which hee now had at home. So that in pursuing him (if before hee found no extreame necessitie) hee should execute that which he had in hand, and be owner of his intent. But if the men of warre were still imployed both in Lombardy and in Toscana, howsoever it came to passe, hee should overlate finde his oversight, and in time see that without remedie hee had loste Lombardy, and gained nothing in Toscana. Thus everie one having said and replied according to his opinion, it was concluded, that a staie for a few days should be made, to see what effect the agreement

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of the Vene-
tians with
the Earle
Francesco.

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betwixt the Malatesti and Nicholo would bring forth: and whether the Florentines could imploy Giampagolo: and whether the Pope did faithfully deale with the League, as hee had promised.

This conclusion made, shortly after they were advertised, that the Malatesti had condescended to the agreement, rather for feare, then any evill intent: and that Pietro Giampagolo with his souldiers, were marched towards Toscana, and the Pope was more willing to aide the League, then before time hee had bene. These advertisements satisfied the Earles minde. So as he became contented that himselfe might remaine in Lombardy: and Nery Capponi shoulde returne to Florence, with a thousande of his Horse, and five hundreth others. And if it did so fall out in Toscana, that the presence of the Earle were there needfull and necessarie, that then hee shoulde wryte unto him, and the Earle (without anie respect) be dispatched thither. Neri with his forces arrived at Florence, in the moneth of Aprill. And the same day, Giampagolo came thither. In the meane time Nicholo Piccinino having setled all things in Romagna, determined to come into Toscana, and desiring to passe by the Alpes of S. Benedetto, and the Vale of Montone, found those places by the vertue of Nicholo de Pisa, so well defended, that hee thought all his power too little. Moreover, because the Florentines were not well furnished either of Captaines or souldiers, for this suddeine assault, they had sent diverse Citizens to the passages of those Alpes, with footemen levied in haste, for that purpose. Amongst whome was Bartholomeo Orlandini: and to him was appointed the keeping of the Castle of Marradi, with the passage of those Alpes. Nicholo Piccinino supposing* hee could not goe by S. Benedetto for the vertue of him that defended that way, yet thought hee it easie to passe by the other which Bartholomeo kept: perswaded thereto by the cowardice of that Captaine.

Marradi is a Castle built at the foote of those Alpes, which divide Toscana from Romagna. But on that side which is towards Romagna, in the beginning of the Vale of Lamona, although it bee without walles, yet the River, the Mountaine, and the inhabitaunts of the countrey doo make

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it strong. For the men be warlike and faithfull. The River hath also worne into the lande, and made so deepe caves and places, as it is impossible to approach it by that Vale, so long as one little Bridge bee defended. And on that side towards the Mountaines, the shoare is so steepe as maketh it most assured. Notwithstanding, the cowardice of Bartholomeo was such, as made those people become base minded, and the seate to seeme of no force at all. For so soone as the noyse of the enemye was heard, hee abandoned his charge, and with his souldiers fledde away, never staying till hee came to Borgo S. Lorenzo. Nicholo entered into the places abandoned, much marvelling that they were not better defended. And being glad of that hee had gotten, came downe into Mugello, where hee surprized some Castles; and at Puliciano hee lodged his Campe. From thence hee spoyled all the Countrey, to the Mountaines of Fiesole. Hee was also so bolde, as hee doubted not to passe the River of Arno, forraging and spoyling everie place within three myles of the Cittie of Florence. The Florentines on the other side were not dismayed, but before all other thinges settled the government. Whereof they could not much doubt, as well for the good will the people bare unto Cosimo; as because the chiefe Offices, were reduced into the handes of a fewe mightie Cittizens, who with their severitie handled the matter so, that they assured themselves of everie man, that shewed themselves discontented, or desirous of Innovasion. They knewe also by the contract made in Lombardy, with what Forces Neri returned, and they looked also for other souldiers, to come from the Pope, which till the comming of Neri, made them hope well. But Neri finding the Cittie in these disorders, and feares, determined to goe into the field, somewhat to bridle the furie of Nicholo, that hee should not so much at his pleasure spoyle the countrey. Then making a band of certaine footemen, the people with all the horses they had went out, and recovered Remole, which the enemies had taken. There they encamped themselves, empeaching Nicholo to proceed in his spoyle, and gave hope to the Cittizens to vanquish the enemye. Nicholo seeing that the enemies having lost their souldiers, mooved not: and understanding also, with what securitie they lived in that citie,

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determined not to lose time, but enterprise some other thinges. To the ende that the Florentines might have occasion to sende out their Forces and fight with him. And if the victorie prooved his, then hee hoped that all other matters should prosperously follow.

In the Campe of Nicholo, Francesco Earle of Poppi happened to be. He in that time (that the enemies were in Mugello) rebelled from the Florentines, with whom he had bene before in League. And albeit the Florentines before mistrusted that hee would so doo, yet thought they to have bounde him with benefites, and to that ende encreased his entertainment, and made him Governour over all their Townes neare unto him. All which notwithstanding (so great strength had the love which hee bare to the contrarie faction) that no benefite nor no feare, could force him to forget, the affection hee bare to Rinaldo, and the others that governed in times past. In so much, as when hee understood that Nicholo drewe neare, suddeinly hee joyned with him, and perswaded him with all earnestie to goe from the Cittie, and passe into Casentino: shewing him the strength of that countrey, and with what securitie, he might from thence distresse the enemye. Nicholo was well content to be advised by his counsell, and come into Casentino, surprized Romana and Bibiena, and after lodged his Campe at the Castle S. Nicholo. This Castle is seated at the foote of those mountaines which divide Casentino from the Vale of Arno, and by reason the seate thereof is high, and the place well manned, the taking thereof prooved hard: notwithstanding that Nicholo did with his Artillarie continually make the batterie. This siege had continued more then twentie dayes. In which time, the Florentines assembled their Forces at Figghini, to the number of foure thousande horse; under the conduct of Pietro Giampagolo, the Generall, Neri Caponi, and Barnardo de Medici Commissaries. To them foure Messengers were sent from the Castle of Saint Nicholo to desire their aide.

Those Commissaries having considered the seate of that place, founde they could not rescue it anie other way, then by the Alpes, which come from the Vale of Arno, and the tops of them might be possessed by the enemye, before they

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Nicholo evill
counselled by
the Earle of
Poppi.

could come thither, as well for that they were nearer, as that they could not goe unknowne. So as, they should attempt a thing to no purpose, and hazard the ruine of their souldiers. Thereuppon the Captaines commending their fidelitie, commaunded them, that if they were not able anie longer to defende themselves, that then they should yeelde. Thus Nicholo prevailed in that enterprise, and possessed this Castle in the ende of thirtie two dayes, after hee and his Campe had besieged it. And for so great a losse of time, obteyned this small victorie, which was the greatest occasion whereby a greater enterprise was not performed. For if hee had still continued with his Campe before Florence, he had forced those that governed, to levie money amongst the Cittizens, prepare Forces, and make everie other provision, with more difficultie, the enemye being so neare at hand, manie of the Cittizens would also have bene desirous of peace, to assure themselves from Nicholo, seeing the warre likely to continue. But the desire which the Earle of Poppi had to bee revenged of some Captaines of Castles, who had bene long his enemies, did leade him to give that counsaile: And Nicholo for his satisfaction, followed the same; which was the destruction both of the one and the other. Whereof may be conceived, that for the moste part, the particuler passions of men, doo hinder the publique commoditie. Nicholo following the victorie, surprized Rassina and Chiusi. In these places, the Earle of Poppi, perswaded him to tarrie, declaring that hee might disperse his Forces into Chiusi, Caprese, and Pieve: by that meanes to become Lord of the mountaines, and at his pleasure to descende from thence, into Casentino, into the Vale of Arno, to the Vale of Chiana, and the Vale of Teveri, and bee also readie, to aunswere to anye motion whatsoever, that the Enemye coulde make. But Nicholo considering the barreinnesse of those places, aunswered, that his Horses, did not eate stones, and so went to the Borgo of S. Sepulchro, where he was friendly received. From thence hee practised to winne the favoure of the inhabitants, of the Cittie called Castello: who being friendes to the Florentines, refused him. Also desiring to have the Perugini at his devotion, hee went with fortie horse unto Perugia: and

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was received (being there a Cittizen borne) verie lovingly, yet within fewe dayes after hee became suspected. For albeit both with the Governour and the Cittizens, hee practised manie things, yet nothing was brought to passe. But receiving of them eight thousand Duckets he returned to the Camp. Then hee devised how to take Cortona from the Florentines, which beeing discovered before the time of execution, that devise came not to effect.

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BOOKE

Practise to
surprise
Cortona.

Among the chiefe Cittizens of that Towne, was Bartholomeo di Senso, who one evening going by commaundement of the Captaine to take the Guard of one of the gates, was by a Countrey man his friende, advised not to goe thither, unlesse hee were content there to be slaine. Bartholomeo desirous to understand the bottome of that matter, founde there were some practise made with Nicholo: which Bartholomeo by authoritie of the Captaine revealed, and made sure the chiefe of the conspiracie. Then doubling the Guard of the Gate, tarried there till Nicholo did come. Who at his arrivall, understanding the matter was discovered, returned to his Camp. During that thinges were in Toscana thus handled, and that the Dukes souldiers had gained little: Lombardy grewe unquiet, with losse and disadvauntage of the Duke. Because the Earle Francesco, so soone as the season of the yeare suffered, came forth with his Armie to the field, and for that the Venetians had supplied their Forces uppon the Lake, the Earle thought good first to make himselfe Lorde of the Water, and then drive the Duke from the Lake: (which done) all other thinges would be easily brought to passe. Then with the Navie of the Venetians, he assaulted the Dukes Gallies, and had the victorie. Hee also tooke those Castles which were holden of the Duke. In so much, as the Dukes other souldiers who besieged Brescia by lande, understanding this overthrowe, retyred. In this sorte was Brescia after three yeares siege delivered. This victorie had, the Earle marched towardes his enemies, who were come to Soncino, a Castle uppon the River of Ogglio, where hee dislodged them, and forced them remooove to Cremona. There the Duke made head, and on that side defended his Countries. But the Earle day by day drawing nearer, and the Duke fearing

The siege of
Brescia re-
moved.

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to lose either all or part of his Countrey, founde how unadvisedly hee had done to sende Nicholo into Toscana. And to amende that errour hee wrote unto Nicholo in what termes hee stood: praying him, with what speed he possible might, to leave Toscana, and returne into Lombardy.

The Florentines in this meane space, by order of their Generalles, had joyned their souldiers with the Popes Forces, and made head at Anghiari, a Castle at the foote of the mountains, which divided the Vale of Tevere, from the Vale of Chiana, foure myles from S. Sepulchro, where the fieldes be large to receive Horse men, and fit for all actions of warre. And because they had intelligence of the Earles victorie, and the revocation of Nicholo, they thought that without the sword, or more labour, the warre was ended. Therefore wrote unto their Generals not to fight, for that Nicholo could not manie dayes remaine in Toscana. This Commission became knowne to Nicholo, who seeing that of necessitie hee must depart: to leave nothing unattempted, hee determined to fight, supposing to finde the enemye altogether unprovided, and not looking for anye Battayle at all. Whereunto hee was also animated and encouraged by Rinaldo, the Earle of Poppi, and diverse other banished men of Florence, who knewe theyr owne destruction to be certaine, if Nicholo did remove thence: but by fighting they hoped either to winne the victorie, or lose it with honor. This resolution made, the Army marched from the place where it was, till it came betweene the Cities of Castello and Borgo, and being come to Borgo, before that the enemies knew thereof, levied from the Towne two thousand men, who trusting to the vertue of the Captaine and his promises, being desirous of spoyle, followed him. Then Nicholo with his Army, marched in Battle-wise towards Anghiari, and was within two miles of the enemye or lesse, when by Micheletto Attendulo was seene a great dust, who knowing the enemies to be there, warned everie man to prepare himselfe. The noyse in the Florentine Campe was great; because that Army encamped for the most part without Discipline, and supposed the enemye to be far off, so all the Florentines were more readie to flie then fight. For every man was far from his own lodging, and disarmed,

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either to refresh himselfe in that hotte season, or to take some other delight. Yet so great was the diligence of the Governours and the Captaine, that before the enemies approached, they were on horsebacke, and prepared to resist the charge. And as Micheletto was the first to discover the enemies, so was he also the first that charged them, and with his souldiers made speede to winne the Bridge which crosseth the way not farre from Anghiari. And because before the comming of the enemye, Pietro Giampagolo had caused the ditches to be cast downe, which are on either side the waie: Micheletto standing against the Bridge, Simoncino the Popes Coronell, together with the Legate, staid on the right hand, and on the left hand stood the Commissaries for Florence, and the foote men placed along the River. Then had the enemye no other way open whereby hee might charge, but by the Bridge. Neither had the Florentines to fight but onely uppon the Bridge, saving that they commaunded their footemen, that if the footemen of the enemye did goe towards the men of Armes; that then they with their Crossebowes should charge them: to the ende that the Florentine horsemen in passing the Bridge, should not bee hurt on the side. So that they that gave the first charge were by Micheletto bravely resisted: but afterwarde Astore and Francesco Piccinino with their choyse bandes, so furiously charged Micheletto, as they tooke from him the Bridge, and drave him to the foote of the hill, which leadeth up to Anghiari. After that they were put backe by him, and forced to retyre beyonde the Bridge, and hee also charged them uppon the side.

The battle of
Anghiari.

This fight continued two houres, for sometime Nicholo, and sometimes the Florentines, were Lordes of the Bridge. And although uppon the Bridge they were of equall force, yet both on that, and this side of the Bridge, Nicholo fought with great disadvantage. Because when the souldiers of Nicholo had passed the Bridge, they founde the enemies strong uppon that straight, and could not with like advantage be charged: and those that were wearie, might easily be, by fresh men supplied. But when the Florentines happened to passe, Nicholo could not so com-

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Nicholo
Piccinino
defeated.

modiously releeve his wearied men, beeing straightned and holden in, with ditches and trenches: So as, though manie times Nicholo had wonne the Bridge, yet by the supplie of fresh enemies, hee was ever driven backe. But when the Bridge was by the Florentines assuredly wonne, and that their forces were entered into the waie, Nicholo wanted time, through the furie of the enemye, and the incommodie of the place, to supplie his souldiers. For they of the Vangarde were forced to mixt themselves, with the Rearewarde: and so the one disordering the other, all the whole Armye was forced to flie, and everie man without anie respect ranne towards the Towne. Then the Florentine souldiers beganne to spoyle: which spoyle of prisoners, armour, and horses, was great. For with Nicholo there was not saved above one thousand horses. They of the Borgo, who in hope of spoyle had followed Nicholo, were of spoilers, become a spoyle, bicause they were all taken and put to ransome. Their ensignes and carriages were lost, and the victorie was much more profitable for Toscana, then prejudiciall for the Duke. For if the Florentines had lost the battell, Toscana had bene his, but he losing the battell, lost no other thing but the armour and horses of his Army, which with plentie of money might be recovered. Neither could any warre be made in the cuntry of another lesse dangerous, then was the warre of those dayes. For in so great an overthrow, and so long a fight (which continued from twentie to foure and twentie of the clock) more were not slaine then one man, and he also not hurt by the vertue of any other, but being falne from his horse, was trodden upon with horses, and so died: with so great securitie men fought in that age. The reason thereof is, that for the most part the souldiers fought on horseback, and covered with armour, they were defended from death till they yeilded. And therefore finding themselves able to fight, they so did, and being not longer able, they yeilded. This conflict (for matters which happened both in and after the fight) was a signe of the great unhappines of those warres, bicause the enemies being vanquished, and Nicholo returned into Borgo, the Governours of the Florentines would have followed, and besieged him there to have the

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victorie fullie. But some souldiers, and some Captaines also, refused to obey them, saying they would first carrie away the spoile, and cure the hurt men. Also (a thing more notable) the next day at high noone, without leave or respect either of the Governours or of the Generall, the souldiers went unto Arezzo, and there bestowed their spoile (which done) they returned to Anghiari. A thing so much against all order Militarie and Discipline of warre, that the remaine of any Army well ordered, might and would easily and deservingly have recovered that victorie, which the Florentines undeservedly had gotten. Besides this, the Governours commaunding that all souldiers taken, should be stayed, to the end, that the enemy might not grow and sodeinly recover strength, yet were they presently delivered. All which things are greatly to be mervailed at. First, how in such an Army, there should be vertue sufficient to win victorie: And then, how there could be in any enemy so little value, as would be of so disordered a people oppressed. But while the Florentines went, and returned from Arezzo, Nicholo gained time to go with his souldiers from Borgo, and marched towards Romagna, with whome also fled the Florentine Rebels, who seeing all hope failed for their returne to Florence, they devided themselves, and every man tooke his owne way, some remaining in Italy, and some without, as they could find meane to bestow themselves. Of which number was Rinaldo, who made his habitation at Ancona: from whence (the rather to gaine himselfe a celestiall countrey) having lost his dwelling upon earth, he went unto the Sepulchre of Christ, and being returned home, at the marriage of one of his daughters sitting at the table, sodeinly died: wherein fortune did favour him, that in the day of his last sorrow she called him away. A man in every fortune honourable, and would have bene much more honourable, had he bene borne in a Cittie undevided. Bicause many times those his vertues which in a factious Cittie did hinder him, in a Cittie united would have advanced him.

Want of discipline in the Florentines Campe.

The death of Rinaldo de Albizi.

The Commissaries then seeing the souldiers returned from Arezzo, and Nicholo departed, presented themselves before Borgo. The Borghesi offered to yeeld to the

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Florentines, but they refused to receive them. And in compounding this agreement, the Popes Legat grew suspicious of the Commissaries, fearing they intended to take that Towne from the Church: in so much, as they grew to words of offence, and some disorder would have followed betwixt the Florentine and the Popes souldiers, if the matter had bene more spoken of. But bicause every thing passed according to the Legats desire, all anger was pacified. While this assault of Borgo continued, advertisements were given, that Nicholo Piccinino was gone towards Rome, and (as others said) towards La Marca. Whereupon the Legat, and the rest thought good to marche towards Perugia, to succour La Marca or Rome, if Nicholo directed his course to any of them. Barnardo de Medici followed, and Neri with the Florentines marched to surprize Casentino. This resolution made, Neri incamped before Russina, and surprized it with the like furie, that he had taken Bibiena, Prato, Vecchio, and Romena. From thence, he went to Poppi, and there lodged the Army, deviding it into two parts, the one upon the plaine of Certomondo, the other upon the hill that reacheth to Fronzoli. The Earle seeing himselfe both of God and men abandoned, shut himselfe up in Poppi, not hoping of any aide, but the rather to procure a composition least to his disadvantage. Neri there besieging him, was desired to accept composition. The conditions whereof were such, as thereby he might hope to save himselfe, his children and goods portable, yeelding the Towne and his state to the Florentines. When these capitulations were in making, the Earle came downe to the bridge of Arno, which passeth by the towne, and there with great sorrow spake thus.

Poppi
besieged.

The speech of
the Earle of
Poppi to the
Florentines
commissaries.

If I had well measured my fortune with your power, I should now have come as a friend to rejoyce at your victorie, and not as an enemy, intreate you, that my miserie might be pittied. This present chance, as it is to you honorable, and pleasant, so is the same to me lamentable and grievous. I was owner of weapon, horses, subjects and riches, who can therefore mervaile though with grieve of mind I leave them? If you will, and can command all Toscana, of necessitie we must all obey you: and if I had not committed this errour,

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neither should my fortune have bene knowne, nor your liberalitie appeared. For if at this time you favour me, you shall thereby give to the world a testimonie of your mercie. Let therefore the vertue of your compassion, exceed the greatnes of mine offence: and be pleased that at the least this onely house may descend to those, of whome your auncestors have received benefits. To whome Neri answered, that as he had hoped overmuch in those that could do little, so had he thereby in such sort offended the state of Florence, as his fault joyned with the conditions of the present time, must of necessitie take from him all his wealth, and be inforced to abandon that countrey, as enemy to the Florentines, which as their friend he would not possesse. For he had made so evill a triall of himselfe, as he might not in any wise be suffered to remaine there, where at every change of fortune he might be readie to offend the Florentine common wealth, for it was not him, but his countrey whome they feared. But if he were pleased to repaire into Germany, he might there remaine a Prince, sith those Citties did desire him, and the Florentines for the love of those his auncestors whom he alledged, would be also therewith contented. Hereto the Earle in great collor replied, saying, that he would see the Florentines a great way further from him. So leaving all friendly communication, the poore Earle despairing of other remedie, yeelded his Towne to the Florentines. That done, taking his goods, his wife, and children, departed, weeping and lamenting for the losse of that Countrey, which his auncestors by the space of 900 yeares had possessed. These victories being known in Florence, were by the Governours of that State and the people with mervailous joy received, and bicause that Barnardo de Medici knewe that Nicholo was to no purpose marched towards La Marca or Rome, he and his souldiers returned to Neri, and from thence they went together to Florence, where they were welcomed with all the greatest honors that by order of that Cittie might be given to victorious Cittizens. And were in triumphant wise saluted by the Senators, the Capitaines, and the whole Cittie.

The Earle
answered by
N. Capponi.

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IT hath bene, and by good reason ought to be the intent of all those that make warre, to inrich themselves, and impoverish their enemye. Neither is victorie for other occasion sought, nor the possessions of the enemy to other end desired, then thereby to make thy selfe mightie, and thy adversarie weake. It followeth therefore, that so oft as thy victorie doth impoverish thee, or thy gaines do weaken thee, either thou passe or come short of the marke, whereunto the warre is directed. That Prince, and that State, is by the victories of warre inriched, which extirpeth the enemies, and becommeth Lord of the spoiles, and ransomes. And that Prince or Common-weale is impoverished, who cannot (though he be victorious) extirpate the enemy, or hath not to his owne use, the spoiles and ransomes, but leaveth them to his souldiers. Such a Prince in his losses is unhappie, and in his victories most infortunate, bicause in losing he suffereth all injuries which the enemy can do him, and in winning, must abide the offences of friends: which as they are lesse reasonable, so are they also lesse tollerable, seeing that by impositions, and new exactions, he is againe to burden his owne subjects. That Prince then, in whome is any generositie of minde, cannot rejoyce at such a victorie whereat all his subjects be constrained to lament. The auncient and well ordered Common weales were wont by conquests to fill their Treasuries with gold and silver, to give rewards to the people, to forgive tributes, and to make triumphs and publike

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feastings. But the States of whome we write, first emptied their treasure houses, and after impoverished the people, without assuring themselves of their enemies. All which grew by their disorderly proceeding in the warres. For when they tooke any prisoners, not holding them nor slaying them, the revenge was no longer deferred, then the leaders of the enemy were furnished anew with horse and weapon. Besides that, the spoyles and ransoms being given to the souldiers, the Princes victorious could not imploy the same in the next warre, but were forced to draw their provision from the bowels of their owne people. Neither did that victorie bring foorth other benefite, then make the Prince greedie, and with lesse respect to burthen them. For the souldiers had brought the warre to such a passe (as both the victorious and the victored, if they would commaund their owne men) had like need of money, bicause the one was to arme them anew, the other to reward them. And as they unmounted could not fight, so these without new rewards, would not. Whereby it followed, that the one enjoyed not much of the victorie, the other felt little of the losse, seeing the victored was speedily repaired, and the victorious could not in time pursue the victorie.

This disorder, and this perverse proceeding in warre, caused that Nicholo Piccinino was againe set on horseback, before his overthrow was knowne through all Italy, and made after greater warre then before he had done. This was the cause, that after the discomfit at Tenna, he could surprize Verona. This was the cause, that after the slaughter of his souldiers at Verona, he could recover a greater Army, and come into Toscana. This was the cause, that being overthrowne at Anghiari, before he arrived in Romagna, he was more mightie in the field, then before he had bene: and might thereby put the Duke of Milan in hope to defend Lombardy, which by his absence was supposed to be welneare lost. For when Nicholo had filled Lombardy with troubles, the Duke was brought to such a passe, as he began to doubt of his owne estate. And fearing his ruine might follow before the comming of Nicholo, (for whome he had sent) to bridle the Earles furie, and with industrie to temper fortune, (which with force

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The Duke de-
sireth peace.

he could not) he resorted to those remedies which in like cases had before time helped him. He therefore sent Nicholo da Este Prince of Farrara unto Pischiera (where the Earle was) to practice a peace, and perswade that warre not to be for his advantage. Bicause, if the Duke were brought to that weakenesse, that he could not mainteine his owne reputation, he should be the rather esteemed. And for more assurance that indeed he desired peace, he offered him conclusion of the marriage, and would send his daughter to Farrara, she promising (the peace made) to yeeld her selfe into his hands. The Earle answered, that if the Duke did faithfullie desire peace, with ease he might finde it; as a thing both by the Florentines and Venetians wished for. Yet did he mistrust the same much, knowing that before time, he had never made peace, but for necessitie, which being passed, he would alwaies returne to his old minde, and make warre. Neither could he beleewe, that the Duke intended the marriage, having bene before at his hand so many times mocked: Notwithstanding, if the peace were concluded, he would after deale in the marriage as by friends he should be advised. The Venetians who without reason were suspitious of their owne souldiers, of those entertainements reasonable conceived mistrust. Which the Earle being carefull to remove, followed the warre with greater furie. Notwithstanding, his mind was stil so tempered with ambition, and the Venetians were so infected with suspition, as the rest of that sommer was passed without any enterprise of importance. In so much as Nicholo Piccinino being returned into Lombardy, and the winter begun, all the souldiers repaired to their lodgings: the Earle to Verona, the Duke to Cremona, the Florentines to Toscana, and the Popes forces to Romagna.

After the victorie at Anghiari, they assaulted Furli, and Bologna, with intent to take them from Francesco Piccinino, who in the name of his father kept them. But that enterprise tooke none effect, yet their comming thither did so much terrifie the people of Ravenna, that with the consent of Ostacio di Polenta, they abandoned the Pope, and yeelded their obedience to the Venetians, who in recompence of the towne (and to the end that Ostacio should never re-

The Venetians mistrust
the Earle
Francesco
their Generall.

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cover that from them by force, which for want of wit he had given them) sent him and his sonne to die in Candia. In which enterprises, notwithstanding the victorie of Anghiari, the Pope wanting money, sould the Castell of Borgo Saint Sepulcro for twentie five thousand Florins. In this estate all things being, in respect of the winter, every man supposed himselfe in safetie, and therefore of peace thought not at all: chiefly the Duke, held himselfe by Nicholo, and the winter season assured. For that consideration, the parle of peace with the Earle was broken, and Nicholo with all diligence was set on horseback, with every other furniture for a future warre necessarie. Hereof the Earle being advertised, went unto Venice, to consult with the Senators what was to be done the yeare following. Nicholo on the other side was readie, and seeing the enemy unprepared, tarried not for the Spring, but in the depth of winter passed Adda, and entred Bresciano, possessing himselfe of all that Countrey (Adula and Acri excepted) and there spoyling and taking prisoners two thousand of the Dukes horses, who unwares were there assaulted. But that which more displeased the Earle and Venetians, was, the revolt of Ciarpellone, one of his chiefe Captaines. The Earle receiving these newes, went sodeinly from Venice, and being arrived at Brescia, found that Nicholo had done those displeasures, and was returned to his lodging, so as he thought not good to kindle the warre againe, being in that sort quenched. And sith the enemy and time did give opportunitie, thought good to prepare himselfe, hoping the rather with the new yeare to be revenged of old injuries. He therefore procured that the Venetians should call back their forces, which served the Florentines in Toscana: and commaunded, that the place of Gattamelata being dead, should by Micheletto be supplied.

Ingratitude
of the Vene-
tians.

The Spring being come, Nicholo Piccinino was the first that marched to the field, and besieged Cignano, a Castle distant from Brescia twelve miles. To the rescue whereof came the Earle, and betwixt these two Captaines, according to their custome the warre was made. The Earle standing in doubt of Bergamo, besieged Martinengo, which Castle being easily wonne, the succour of Bergamo could not be

Micheletto
Generall for
the League.

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A proude
request of
Nicholo.

Peace be-
twene the
League and
Duke, and
his daughter
married to
the Earle
Francesco.

hard. That Cittie being by Nicholo greatly distressed, and having provided so, as it could not receive harme, but by the way of Martinengo, they manned it so fully, as behoved the Earle to goe unto the siege thereof with all forces. Whereupon Nicholo with his whole Army placed himselfe where he might impeach the Earle of his victuall, and was with trenches and bulwarks so fortified, as the Earle without his apparant danger could not assault him, and brought the matter to that passe, that the besieger was in more perill then the people of Martinengo who were besieged; in so much as the Earle for want of victuall, could neither continue the siege, nor for the peril he was in, depart thence. Thus the Dukes victorie was thought assured, and the Venetians and Earles overthrow seemed apparant. But fortune, (who never faileth of meane, to favour her friends, and disfavour her foes) made Nicholo Piccinino with hope of this victorie to become so ambitious and insolent, as without respect to the Duke (and himselfe also) by a messenger signified unto him, that he had long time served under his ensigne, and yet had not gained so much land as he could therein burie himselfe: and was therefore desirous to know wherewith his service should be rewarded, sith now it was in his power to make him Lord of Lombardy, and oppresse all his enemies. And to the end that of certaine victorie he might aspect a certaine recompence, desired to have of his gift the Cittie of Piacenza, where being wearie of long travell, he might sometimes repose himselfe: and in conclusion somewhat threatned to abandon the enterprise, if the Duke refused to satisfie his demaund. This presumptuous and insolent sute, so highly offended the Duke, as he made choise rather to lose the victorie, then consent thereunto. And that which so many dangers and threatnings of enemies could not compasse, the insolent behaviour of friends brought to passe, and the Duke resolved to make a peace with the Earle. To whome he sent Antonio Guidobuono of Tortona, and by him offered his daughter with the conditions of peace: which offer, was by the Earle, and all his Collegats greedily accepted, and the particularities betwixt them secretly concluded. The Duke then sent unto Nicholo, willing him to take a

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truce with the Earle for one yeare, alleaging he had bene so sore burthened with charges, as he could not refuse a certaine peace for a doubtfull victorie. Nicholo mervailed much at this resolution, as one that knew not what might move the Duke to shunne a victorie so certaine: and could not beleve that for want of good will to reward friends, he would save his enemies. Wherefore in the best manner he could, opposed himselfe to this determination. In so much as the Duke was constrained to threaten him, that if he were not conformable, he would give him either as a prisoner to the enemy, or as a spoile to his owne souldiers. Then Nicholo obeied, but with no other minde, then he that by force abandoneth his friends and countrey: complaining his hap to be hard, sith sometimes fortune, and sometimes the Duke, had taken from him the victorie over his enemies.

This peace made, the marriage betwixt the Ladie Bianca and the Earle, was solemnized, and to her was allotted for dowrie the Cittie of Cremona. Which done, the peace was ratified in November, the yeare 1441, where, for the Venetians, Francesco Barbarigo, and Pagolo Trono, and for the Florentines, Agnolo Acciaivolo, were Commissioners. In this contract, the Venetians gained Peschiera, Asola, and Lonato, a Castle belonging to the Marquesse of Montova. The warre thus stayed in Lombardy, it remained to take order for the troubles in the kingdome, which not being pacified, would be an occasion to renew the warres in Lombardy. The King Rinato during the warres in Lombardy, had bene spoiled by Alfonso of Arragon of all his Kingdome, save only the Cittie of Naples, so that Alfonso thinking to have victorie in his owne hand, determined during the siege of Naples, to take from the Earle Benevento, and other his Countreys thereabouts: for he thought the same without perill might be done by the Earles absence, and his imployment in the warres of Lombardy. This enterprise was by Alfonso easily performed, and with small travell he surprized all those Townes. But the newes of the peace in Lombardy being come, Alfonso feared that the Earle, the rather for that his townes were taken from him, would joyne with Rinato,

The warre
betweene
King Rinato
and Alfonso
revived.

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and Rinato hoped for the same occasion that he would so do. Rinato then sent unto the Earle, desiring him to come to the aide of his friend, and the revenge of his enemy. On the other side, Alfonso intreated Philipppo, that for the good will betwixt them, he would cause the Earle to be so much set aworke, as to attend greater matters, he might be inforced to let this alone. Philipppo gaunted this request, not thinking what disturbed that peace, which he, not long since, had made to his disadvantage. Then he gave the Pope Eugenio to understand, that the time was now come, to recover those Townes which the Earle had taken from the Church. And for performance of that enterprise, he offered him Nicholo Piccinino paid, so long as the warres continued. For (the peace now made) he remained with his souldiers in Romagna. Eugenio greedily entertained this counsell, aswell for the displeasure he bare to the Earle, as the desire he had to recover his owne. And though before time, he had bene with the same hope by Nicholo deceived, yet now the Duke undertaking the action, he mistrusted no more deceit, but presently joyned his forces with Nicholo, and assaulted La Marca. The Earle being so sodeinly set upon, ordered his souldiers, and marched towards the enemy.

The Cittie of
Naples wonne
by Alfonso.

In this meane while, the King Alfonso wonne Naples, whereby all that Kingdome (excepting Castle Nuovo) was at his devotion. Then Rinato leaving that Castle well guarded, went from thence to Florence, where he was most honourably received, and there remaining a few dayes, finding he could not make warre any longer, went unto Marsilia. Alfonso in the meane while had taken the Castle Nuovo, and the Earle remained in La Marca, in strength inferiour to the Pope and Nicholo, and therefore prayed the Venetians and Florentines to aide him with men and money. Letting them to understand, it was necessarie to bridle the Pope and the King, during the time he was able: for otherwise they were to looke for little good, seeing the Pope and King would joyne themselves with Philipppo, and divide all Italy betwixt them. The Florentines and Venetians for a time stood doubtfull what to do, aswell bicause they knew not whether it were their best to be

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enemies to the Pope and King, as for that they were occupied with the matters of Bologna. Anibale Bentivogli had driven out of that Cittie Francesco Piccinino. And the rather to defend the same from the Duke, (who favoured Francesco) he sent for aide to the Florentines and Venetians, and they did not denie him: so as being occupied in these matters, they could not resolve to assist the Earle. But Annibale having overthrowne Francesco Piccinino, and those matters settled, the Florentines determined to aide the Earle: yet first to be assured of the Duke, they renewed the league with him, which the Duke refused not, having consented that the warre should be made upon the Earle, so long as the King Rinato was in Armes. But seeing him vanquished, and utterly deprived of his Kingdome, he was not pleased that the Earle should then be bereft of his Countrey. And therefore he not onely consented to aide the Earle, but also wrote unto Alfonso, desiring him to be pleased to returne to the Kingdome, and make no longer warre. Whereunto, albeit Alfonso was unwilling, yet being beholding to the Duke, determined to content him, and retired himselfe with his Army to the other side of Tronto. While matters were thus handled in Romagna, the Florentines within themselves became disquiet.

Among the Cittizens of most reputation and authoritie in Florence, was Neri, the sonne of Gino Capponi, whose greatnesse, Cosimo de Medici above all others feared. For besides his great credit in the Cittie, he was also greatly honored of the souldiers, having bene many times Generall of the Florentine Armies, and with his victorie, vertue, and well deserving, had gained their love. Besides that, the memorie of victories wonne by him and Gino his father, the one having surprized Pisa, and the other overthrowne Nicholo Piccinino at Anghiari, made him beloved of many, and feared of those who desired no companie in the government. Among many other of the chiefe Captaines in the Florentine Army, was Baldaccio of Anghiari, a man of warre most excellent. For in those daies, there was not any in Italy, that for vertue, person, and courage, could excell him, and had among the footemen (for of those he was ever a leader) so much reputation, as all that sort

Neri Capponi.
Cosimo de
Medici.

Baldaccio
Generall of
the Floren-
tine footmen.

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of souldiers in every enterprise, and whensoever he pleased, would willingly follow him. This Baldaccio loved Neri exceeding much, as a man whose vertue (wherof he was a witnesse) so deserved, which bred in the other Cittizens great suspition. And they judging to suffer him, was perillous, and to restraine him was most danger of all: determined to dispatch him utterly, which intent fortune greatly favoured.

Bartholomeo Orlandini was Gonfaloniere de Giustitia. He being (as is before said) Captaine of Marradi, at such time as Ni. Piccinino passed into Toscana, cowardly fled and abandoned that passage, which by nature almost defended it selfe. This cowardice at that time greatly offended Baldaccio, who with words of reproofe and letters, made the same everywhere knowne. Whereat Bartholomeo ashamed and offended, did greatly study to be revenged, hoping by the death of the accuser, to cancell the fame of his infamie. This desire of Bartholomeo being known to other cittizens, with small labour he perswaded them to the oppression of Baldaccio, whereby in one act he might revenge his privat injurie, and deliver the state from that man, whom they must of force enterteine with peril, or discharge with disadvantage. Therefore Bartholomeo being fully determined to kil him, conveied into his chamber many yong men armed. Then the Gonfalone seeing Baldaccio come into the market place (whither he resorted daily to confer with the Magistrates of his charge) sent for him, and he obeyed. Being come, the Gonfaloniere met him, entreteining him with speech touching his businesse from chamber to chamber, till he came neare to that place where the armed men were hidden, and when he thought good, called them forth. Baldaccio being disarmed, was presently slaine, and throwne out of the windowe. From thence, hee was carried to the market place, had his head cut off, and made a spectacle for the people all that day. Of him there remained one sonne by his wife called Annalena, who within fewe yeares after died. This Annalena having buried hir sonne and husband, determined no more to marrie, but making hir house a Monasterie, shut hir selfe up therein, with many other noble women, where they verie

Baldaccio
murdered by
Bartholomeo
Orlandini.

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holily lived and died. Hir house in memorie of hir, was after made a Monasterie, by the name of S. Annalena (as at this present it is) and ever shall be. This action somewhat decreased the power of Neri, and tooke from him reputation and friends. Neither did that onely content the Cittizens in authoritie. For the tenne yeares of their office being passed, and their authoritie in the Balia ended, diverse men both by word and deedes tooke courage to complaine against the continuance of those officers: and therefore the Governors thought for the holding of their authoritie, it was necessarie to have their offices prolonged, giving new commission to friends, and oppressing their foes. For which consideration, in the yeare 1444 by their counsels a new Balia was created, which reestablished officers, giving authoritie to a few, to create the Senate, reviving the Chancellorship of reformation: removing Ser. Philipppo Peruzzi, and in his place appointing one other to governe, according to the pleasure of the great men: putting in prison Giovan the sonne of Simone Vespucci. The government thus setled, and the offices of state taken anew, they turned their minds to matters abroad. Nicholo Piccinino being (as hath bene before said) abandoned by the King Alfonso, and the Earle, with the helpe he had of the Florentines, became strong, assailed Nicholo neare unto Fermo, and there gave him so great an overthrow, that Nicholo lost welneare all his souldiers, and with a fewe fled into Montecchio. Nicholo tarried there all the winter to increase his army, and therein was helped by the Pope, and king Alfonso. In so much as the spring time being come, and the other Captaines returned to the field, Nicholo was the stronger, and the Earle brought to extreame necessitie, and had bene utterly defeated, if the intent of Nicholo had not bene by the Duke altered. Philipppo sent for Nicholo, pretending to have occasion by mouth to impart unto him matters of great importance. Which Nicholo being desirous to heare, abandoned a certaine victorie, for an incertaine pleasure, and leaving Francesco his sonne to governe the army, went unto Milan. The Earle understanding of his departure from the Camp, would not lose the opportunitie to fight in the absence of Nicholo: and assaulting the army of Nicholo

Florence
reformed.

Ni. Piccinino
discomfited.

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Death of
Ni. Piccinino.

neare unto the Castle of Monte Loro, overthrew it, and tooke Francesco prisoner. Nicholo at his arrivall in Milan, seeing himselfe abused by Philippo, and understanding his Camp to be broken, and his sonne with sorrow died, the yeare 1445 being of the age of 64 yeares, having bene a Captaine more vertuous then happie. Of him there remained two sonnes, Francesco, and Giacopo, who as they were of lesse vertue then the father, so had they worse fortune. By which meane, the souldiers bred by Braccio, were almost worne out, and the discipline of Sforza (alwaies holpen by fortune) became more glorious. The Pope seeing the army of Nicholo suppressed, and him dead, nor much hoping in the aide of Arragon, sought to make peace with the Earle, which by mediation of the Florentines was concluded. The peace made in La Marca, all Italy had lived in quiet, if the Bolognesi had not disturbed the same.

Trouble in
Bologna.

There was in Bologna two mightie Families, Channeschi, and Bentivogli, of the one Annibale, and of the other Battista was chiefe. These (to be the rather assured one of the others friendship) contracted a marriage. But betweene men which aspire to one greatnesse, though alliance may easily be made, yet friendship cannot. Bologna was in league with the Florentines and Venetians, which league had bene concluded by meane of Annibale Bentivogli, after they had driven out Francesco Piccinino. Battista knowing that the Duke desired greatly to have the favour of that Cittie, practised with him to kill Annibale, and bring that Cittie under his ensigne. The order of this murther agreed upon, the 24 of June 1445. Battista with his men assaulted Annibale and slew him: which done, he proclaimed the Dukes name throughout the towne. At that time, the Commissaries for the Venetians and the Florentines, were in Bologna; and at the first rumor retired unto their houses, but afterwards perceiving that the murtherers were not favoured by the people (who were in great numbers armed, and assembled, lamenting the death of Annibale) they tooke courage, went towards them, and assailed the Canneschi, whom in lesse then one houre they overthrew; slaying some, and forcing the rest to flie the Cittie. Battista not fleeing in time nor slaine, remained at his house and

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hid himself in a vessell made for the keeping of corne. His enemies having all the day sought him, and assured he was not gone out of the towne, threatned his servants so much, as one of them at length discovered where he was. From thence he was taken out and slaine, then drawne through the streets, and at last burned: so as the victorie of the Duke, was of force sufficient to perswade Annibale to the enterprise, but not of power ynough to save him from death. Thus by the death of Battista, and the fleeing of the Canneschi, these tumults were appeased. The Bolognesi remained in great confusion, because there was not left of the house of Bentivogli any man fit for government. And for that there remained one sonne onely of Annibale but six yeares old (who was called Giovanni) the Bolognesi feared least among the friends of the Bentivogli some division would grow, which might perhaps occasion the returne of the Canneschi, with the ruine of their countrey and faction.

While the Bolognesi continued in this doubtfull imagination, Francesco late Earle of Poppi being in Bologna, informed the chiefe Cittizens, that if they had desire to be governed by one descended of the bloud of Annibale, he could informe them of such a one. Declaring that about 20 yeares past, Hercole the Cosen of Annibale happened to be at Poppi, and had there carnall knowledge of a yong woman in that Castle, who was after delivered of a sonne called Santi, whom Hercole diverse times affirmed to be his. And it seemed to be a thing likely, for that the child so much resembled Hercole, as liker it could not be. His words were believed by those Cittizens, and they deferred no time to send unto Florence, to find out the yong man, and perswade with Cosimo di Medici, and Neri Capponi, that they might have him. The supposed father of this Santi was dead, and the yong man lived under the tuition of an Uncle of his called Antonio Cascese. This Antonio was rich, without children, and friend to Neri. The matter being understood, Neri thought fit, neither to reject the motion, nor imbrace it, but commaunded that Santi in the presence of Cosimo, and those that were sent from Bologna, should speake with him. Then order being taken for their

Santi Benti-
vogli.

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meeting, Santi was by the Bolognesi not only honored, but also (as it were) adored. Then Cosimo calling Santi aside, said unto him, there is none that in this matter can better counsell thee, then thy selfe, for thou art to take that choise whereto thine own mind is inclined. If thou be the sonne of Hercole Bentivogli, thou wilt dispose thy selfe to such actions as be worthie of thy father and his house, but if thou art the sonne of Agnolo Cascese, thou shalt remaine in Florence, and imploy thy life basely in the art of cloth-making. These words much incouraged the yong man, for where he had before refused to take the matter upon him, he said now that he would be directed in all by Cosimo and Neri. Then they resolved with the messengers of Bologna to apparrell him, horse him, and man him, and so in honorable wise convey him to the Cittie, there to take the government: where he after governed with so great wisdom, that notwithstanding the greater part of his predecessors had ben by their enemies slaine, yet he peaceably and honorably lived and died.

After the death of Nicholo Piccinino, and the peace made in La Marca, Philippo desired to entertaine a Captaine to governe his Army, and secretly practised with Ciarpellone, one of the Earles chiefe Leaders, and grew with him to composition. Ciarpellone prayed leave of the Earle to goe to Milan, to take possession of certaine Castles, which in the late warre were by Philippo given him. The Earle mistrusting that which was, (and to the end the Duke should not be served to his disadvantage) first stayed him, and shortly after put him to death, alleaging he had bene by him abused. Therewith Philippo was exceedingly angrie, and the Florentines and Venetians much pleased, as they that feared least the Earles forces and the Dukes power joyned in friendship. This anger was occasion to resuscitate new warre in La Marca. In Rimini, Gismondo Malatesti was Lord, who being son in law to the Earle, hoped to have possession of Pesaro: notwithstanding the Earle having surprized it, gave it to Alesandro his brother. Wherewith Gismondo grew greatly offended, and the more bicause Federigo di Montefeltro his enemy, by the Earles favour, had usurped Urbino. This was the cause that Gismondo joyned with the Duke, and

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sollicited the Pope and King to make warre upon the Earle. Who to the end Gismondo should feele the first fruits of that warre which he desired, thought to prevent him, and sodeinly assailed him. Whereupon Rome and La Marca were on the soden brought into tumult, bicause Philippo, the king, and the Pope, sent great aide to Gismondo: and the Venetians and Florentines furnished the Earle, though with no men, yet with plentie of money. Neither was Philippo content to make warre in Romagna, but he also determined to take from the Earle Cremona and Pontremoli: yet was Pontremoli by the Florentines, and Cremona by the Venetians defended. So that by these meanes the warre in Lombardy was renewed, and therein somewhat done in Cremonese.

New warres in
Lombardy.

Francesco Piccinino Generall for the Duke, was by Michelto, and the Venetian forces at Casale defeated. By which victorie, the Venetians hoped to take the Dukes state from him, and sent their Commissarie to Cremona, assailing Ghiraadada, and possessed all saving Cremona. Afterwards they passed Adda, spoiling the countrey hard to the gates of Milan. Thereupon the Duke desired aide of Alfonso, declaring what perill would ensue to the kingdome, if Lombardy were in the Venetians hand. Alfonso promised to send him souldiers, who without consent of the Earle could with difficultie passe. Then Philippo intreated the Earle not to abandon his father in law being aged and blind. The Earle found himself offended with the Duke for having moved the warre against him. On the other side he disliked the greatnesse of the Venetians, his money grew low, and the same was scarcely supplied by the Lords of the League. For the Florentines feared no more the Duke, which was the cause they esteemed the Earle, and the Venetians desired his ruine, judging that the state of Lombardy could not be taken from them but by the Earle. Notwithstanding, while Philippo sought to draw him into his pay, offering him the commaundement of all his souldiers, so that he would forsake the Venetians and restore La Marca to the Pope. They also sent Embassadors unto him, promising him the possession of Milan, if they could win it, and the perpetuities in the government of their men of

The Earle his
friendship de-
sired both by
the Duke and
Venetians.

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warre, if he would still follow the warre in La Marca, and impeach the comming of aide from Alfonso into Lombardy. Thus were the promises of the Venetians great, and their deserts of him greater, having begun that warre, to save Cremona for the Earle. On the other part, the injuries done by the Duke were fresh, his promises not faithfull nor great. Yet did the Earle much doubt what resolution to make. For of the one side, the obligation of the league, their well deserving of him, and their promises of pleasures to come, did move him. On the other, the intreatie of his Father in lawe, and chiefly the poison which hee feared to be hidden under the great promises of the Venetians, did stay him; suspecting least their promise of that state, if hee should hap to win it, might not be performed: having none other hold, but their bare promise, whereunto no wise Prince, unlesse it were for great necessitie, had ever trusted. These difficulties of the Earles resolution, were removed by the ambition of the Venetians, who hoping to surprize Cremona by meanes of some intelligence they had within the Cittie, under another pretence caused their souldiers to marche neere unto it. But that enterprise was discovered by those that guarded the towne for the Earle, whereby the treason tooke no effect, and they thereby wan not Cremona, but utterly lost the love of the Earle, who presently thereupon laying all respects apart, joyned himselfe with the Duke. Now was Pope Eugenio dead, and in his place succeeded Nicholao quinto. The Earle had his whole Army at Cotigniola, readie to passe into Lombardy. Thither came newes, advertising the death of Philipppo, which was the last of August, in the yeare 1447. These newes grieved the Earle exceedingly, bicause he thought his army not fully paid, would be unreadie, and feared least the Venetians being in armes, would become his enemies. For having abandoned them and joyned with the Duke, he feared Alfonso his continuall enemy, not trusting either the Pope, or the Florentines. These, bicause they were in league with the Venetians, and the other, for that he did possesse some townes belonging to the Church. Notwithstanding, he determined to shew his face to fortune, and according to the chances therof to proceed. For many times by doing

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somewhat, secrets are discovered, which by standing still could not be knowne. Great hope he conceived in thinking, that if the Milanese would be defended from the ambition of the Venetians, that of force they must imploy him and his souldiers. Therof taking courage, he marched into the countrey of Bologna, and from thence to Modena and Regio, staying with his forces at Lenza, from whence he sent unto Milan to offer his service. Some of the Milanese having buried their Duke, desired to live in libertie, and some others were contented to receive a Prince. Of those which desired a Prince, some would have the Earle, and some the King Alfonso, whereby those that loved libertie, being more united, became the stronger part, and framed after their faction a state and government, which was nevertheless disobeyed by many Citties of the Dukedome, imagining that they might also (as Milan did) enjoy their libertie. And others also, which aspired not thereunto, did likewise refuse to yeeld unto the Milanese. The Citties of Lodi and Piacenza gave themselves to the Venetians. Pavia and Parma would be free. The Earle understanding these confusions, went unto Cremona, whither his Embassadors and the Embassadors of Milan came with this conclusion, that he should remain Captain general of the Milanese, with those conditions last set down by the Duke Philippo, adding thereunto that the Earle should have Brescia, till he surprised Verona. And being possessed therof, to yeeld up Brescia.

The Earle
made Gene-
rall for the
Milanese.

Before the death of this Duke, Pope Nicholo at his assumption sought to make peace amongst all the Italian Princes. For the compassing whereof, by Embassadors he practised, that the Florentines should send unto him at the time of his creation, desiring him to appoint a Parliament at Ferrara, to procure therein either a long truce, or a perfect peace. Upon which occasion in that Cittie assembled the Popes Legat, the Embassadors for the Venetians, Embassadors for the Duke, and Embassadors for the Florentines. But those which were looked for from King Alfonso, appeared not. This King was then at Tiboli, accompanied with many men of warre, both on foote and horseback. From thence he gave countenance to the Duke, and it was thought that so soone as they had drawne the

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The Venetians aspire to usurpe the Duchie of Milan.

King Alfonso assaulteth the Florentines.

Earle to their side, they would openly assault the Venetians and Florentines. In the meane time, the Earles souldiers should remaine in Lombardy, and the peace to be enter-teined at Farrara, whither the King sent not, saying he would ratifie all things the Duke would assent unto. This peace was many dayes consulted upon, and after much disputation concluded, that either it should be perpetuall peace, or a truce for 5 yeares, at the election of the Duke, whose Embassadors being returned to Milan to understand his pleasure, at their comming thither found him dead. The Milanesi notwithstanding his death, would needs have the conclusion of peace allowed. But the Venetians did not consent, hoping greatly to usurpe that state. And the rather, bicause Lodi and Piacenza sodeinly after the Dukes death were yeilded unto them: whereby they hoped, either by force or composition within short space to become Lords of all the territorie of Milan, and in the end so distresse the Cittie, as it should also be forced to yeeld before any man could rescue it. And the rather they thus perswaded themselves, for that they sawe the Florentines busied in warre with King Alfonso. That King being at Tiboli, and intending to follow the enterprise of Toscana, as he had determind with Philipppo, thinking therewith that the warre already begun in Lombardy, would give him time and commoditie desired, to have one foote into the state of Florence, before such time as he would openly make the warre, and for that purpose practised to win the Castle Cennina in the upper vale of Arno, and wan it. The Florentines stricken with this unlooked for accident, and seeing the King readie to march to their offence, hired souldiers, created the ten Magistrates, and according to their custome, prepared all things for the warre. By this time the King with his Army was come to the countrey of Siena, labouring by all meanes to bring that Cittie to favour him. Notwithstanding, the Cittizens there stood firme in their friendship to the Florentines, and refused to receive the King, either into Siena, or any other of their townes: yet did they provide him victuall, whereof the importunitie of the King, and the force of the enemy might excuse them. The King then thought not good to enter by

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the way of the vale of Arno, as he first determined, aswell for that he had spoiled Cennina, as bicause the Florentines were partly furnished with souldiers, and therefore marched towards Volterra, and surprized many Castles in the countrey thereto belonging. From thence, he marched into the countrey of Pisa, where, by the favour of Arrigo and Fatio, Earles of Chirardesca, he tooke some Castles, and assaulted Campiglia, which being defended by the Florentines and the cold winter, he could not surprize. Then the King leaving certaine of his owne souldiers to guard the townes by him taken, and to defend the countrey, retired with the rest of his Army to his lodgings in the countrey of Siena.

The Florentines favoured by that season of the yeare, carefully laboured to provide souldiers. Their chiefe leaders were Federigo Lord of Urbino, and Gismondo Malatesta of Rimino. And albeit there was betwixt them two some disagreement, yet by the wisdom of Neri, and Barnardetto di Medici, (Commissaries for the Florentines) they agreed so well, that notwithstanding the hard winter continuing, they marched, and recovered those townes which were lost in the countrey of Pisa, and the Ripomerancie in the territorie of Volterra. They also bridled the Kings souldiers, who before had spoyled the sea coast, so as with difficultie they might defend the townes committed to their guard. But the Spring time being come, the Commissaries drew forth all their souldiers, to the number of 5000 horse, and 2000 footmen. And the King came with his, to the number of welneare fifteene thousand, besides 3000 at Campiglia. And when he intended to returne to the siege of that towne, he went to Piombino, hoping easily to win it, bicause the towne was not well furnished, he thought the having thereof profitable for him, and disadvantagious for the Florentines; bicause, from thence he might protract the warres, and consume them, having meane to victuall himselfe by sea, and disturbe the whole countrey of Pisa. This assault greatly displeased the Florentines, and consulting upon the matter, thought that if they might with their Army remaine in the bounds of Campiglia, that the King should therby be inforced to depart either broken or

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dishonoured. For which purpose they armed foure small Gallies at Livorno, and with them put into the towne of Piombino three hundred footemen, placing them at the Galdani, a place where with difficultie they might be assaulted. For if they were lodged in the plaine upon the Confines, the same was thought dangerous. The Florentines received their victuals from the Townes thereabouts, which being but fewe and not much inhabited, did scarcely furnish them. So as the Armie suffered penurie, and most chiefly of wine : Because none being there made, nor brought thither from other places, it was impossible for everie man to have so much as should suffice him. But the King, notwithstanding he were by the Florentines straightly holden in, yet had he abundance almost of everie provision, by reason hee received it from the sea. The Florentines therefore thought good, likewise to make prooffe, if they might be by sea releevd : and for that purpose loaded their Gallies with victuall, and sent them thither. But in their passage they were encountred with seven of the Kings Gallies, which tooke two of them, and suncke the others. This losse bereft the Florentine souldiers, of hope to be revictualled. Thereupon two hundreth or more Pyoners for want of drinke fled unto the Kings Campe : the rest of the souldiers mutined, complayning that in those hote places they could not remaine without wine, because water was there most unwholesome. So that the Commissaries determined to abandon that place, and imploy their forces to recover certaine Castles which remained in the Kings hand. Who on the other side, although he wanted not victual, being in force the stronger, yet was his Camp afflicted with sicknesse, bred there, by the infection of the aire, nere unto the sea : by mean wherof, almost everie man was infected, and many of them also died. These occasions ministred communication of peace, wherein the King demaunded fiftie thousand Florins, and Piombino to be left at his discretion. The matter being debated at Florence, by many desirous of peace, the demands were thought reasonable. For they were perswaded a war so chargeable as that was, could not without great expence be maintained. Notwithstanding Neri Capponi went unto

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Florence, and there with such reasons as he made, altered their minds. Disswading them utterly to accept those conditions: and the Florentines received the Lord of Piombino as recommended; promising both in time of warre and peace to defend him, if he would, (as hitherto he had) fight courageously in defence of his owne Citie. The King understanding this resolution, and seeing his owne Campe afflicted with sicknesse, brake up, and retired with the rest into the country of Siena; leaving behinde him two thousand dead bodies. From thence he marched towards the kingdome, and being exceedingly offended with the Florentines, threatned the next Spring to make upon them a new warre.

While matters were thus handled in Toscana, the Earle Francesco became Generall of the Milanesi, and before anie thing done, obtained the friendship of Francesco Piccinino, who had likewise served them, which he did, to the end that his enterprises might be the more favoured, and by Piccinino the lesse impeached. Then marched he with his Armie to the field, wherby the Citizens of Pavia, fearing they could not defend themselves, and being on the other side, unwilling to obey the Milanesi, offered him the Towne, with condition that he should not deliver it to them. The Earle greatly desired the possession of that Citie, thinking that the having thereof would be a good beginning to colour his intent, being neither detained with feare, nor abashed to breake his faith. For great men do call losse, a thing dishonourable, but to compasse their desire by craft, is accounted no shame at all. Notwithstanding he doubted, least his taking of the Towne in this sort, would so offend the Milanesi, as for that cause, they woulde yeeld themselves to the Venetians: and if it were not taken by him, then he feared the Duke of Savoia, to whom many of the Citizens were willing to give it. So as by everie of those meanes, hee thought himselfe bereft of the dominion of Lombardy: yet supposing it lesse perill, to take the Citie for himselfe then leave it to an other, determined to accept it, being perswaded it was notwithstanding possible to content the Milanesi: whom he enformed of those perils wherunto they should fall, if he

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jealous of the
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accepted not the Citie of Pavia. For that Citie (if it were by him refused) would yeelde to the Venetians or the Duke of Savoia, in either of which cases, their countrey should be lost, and therefore thought rather be contented to have him their neighbour and friend, then any other that were more mightie, and their enemye. The Milanesi were much troubled with this matter, imagining that the Earle had thereby discovered his ambition, and the end whereunto he tended. Yet thought they not good to take knowledge thereof, because leaving the Earle, they sawe not whither to addresse themselves, unlesse it were to the Venetians, whose pride and hard dealing they mistrusted. Wherefore they resolved, not to shake off the Earle, but for the present, by him to be delivered of those inconveniences, hoping after to be also delivered of himselfe. For they were not onely assaulted by the Venetians, but also by the Genovesi and the Duke of Savoia, who made warre in the name of Carlo of Orliens, sonne to the sister of Philipppo. But the Earle easily withstood their mallice. Then were the Venetians his only enemies, who with a mightie Armie determined to surprize that state, and had alreadye possessed Lodi, and Piacenza, wherunto the Earle brought his camp: and after a long siege sacked that Citie. Which done, (because the winter was alreadye come) he retired his men to their lodgings, and went himselfe to Cremona; where with his wife he rested all that winter. But the spring being come, the Armies of the Venetians and Milanesi, returned to the field. The Milanesi desired to surprize Lodi, and after make peace with the Venetians. Because the charges of warre did burthen them, and the fidelitie of their General was suspected. For these reasons they wished a peace, as well to repose themselves, as to be assured of the Earle. Then they resolved, their Army should besiege Carravaggio, hoping that Lodi would yeeld, so soone as the Castle could be taken from the enemye. The Earle obeyed the Milanesi, although his intent was to have passed Adda, and assault the country of Brescia. The siege being laid to the Castle of Carravaggio, hee trenched and fortified his Campe, least happily the Venetians would assaile him.

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The Venetians on the other side, conducted by Micheletto their Generall, marched within two bowes shot off the Earles Campe, where diverse dayes both the Armies remained, the one many times offending the other. Notwithstanding, the Earle stil besieged the castle, and did so straightly distresse it, as it was readie to yeeld: which greatly displeased the Venetians; fearing that the losse thereof would be the ruine of all the enterprise. Great disputation arose among their Captaines, by what meanes it might be succoured. But no other way could be devised, then to assault the enemies in their trenches, which was exceeding daungerous. Notwithstanding so greatly they esteemed the losse of that Castle, as the Senate of Venice (beeing naturally fearefull to meddle with any matter either doubtful or dangerous) did chuse rather to hazard all, then with the losse of that, to lose the enterprise. They resolved therefore by all meanes to assault the Earle, and one morning earely charged him on that side where they thought he was weakest. At the first charge (as it happeneth in those assaults which be not looked for) all the Armie was dismaid. Notwithstanding, the Earle sodeinly repaired the disorders, and had handled the matter so, that notwithstanding many assaults, the enemies were forced in the end, not onely to retire, but also were so pursued: that of their Camp (which was twelve thousand horse) not one thousand was saved. All their goods were spoyled, and their carriages taken. So as never before that time the Venetians received any overthrow greater, or more terrible.

The Venetians defeated by the Earle Francesco.

Among the spoyles and prisoners taken in this conflict, was the Venetian Proveditor, who before that skirmish, and after during the wars, had used diverse opprobrious words of the Earle, calling him Bastard and Coward. But being become prisoner, remembring what hee had deserved, and brought to the Earles presence: according to the nature of proud and cowardly men (which is to be in prosperitie insolent, and in adversitie abject and vile) kneeled down before him, weeping, and desiring pardon of his offences. The Earle tooke him up by the arme, comforted him, and willed him to be of good cheare. And afterwards said, that he marvelled much how a man of his wisdom and

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gravitie, could commit so great an error, as to speake evill of them that had not so deserved. And touching the matter of slaunder, he knew not in what sort Sforza his father, had used his mother Maddonna Lucia, because he was not there present. So as of that which was done by them he could receive neither blame nor commendation. But for his owne doings, he knew well, that nothing was by any man to be reprooved: and there of both he and his Senate could fully and truly witnesse with him. Whereof hee wished him afterwards to be more modest in speech, and in his proceedings more discreet.

After this victorie, the Earle with his tryumphant Campe, marched to the territorie of Brescia, and possessing all that country, settled his Campe within two myles of the Citie. The Venetians on the other side, having received this overthrow, feared, (as it came to passe) that Brescia would be first assaulted, speedily as they might, made provision, and with all diligence, levied forces, joyning them to those that remained of the old Campe. Therewith also by vertue of the League, desired aid of the Florentines. Who being free from the warre of King Alfonso, sent unto them one thousand footemen, and two thousand horse. The Venetians by having these souldiers, gained time to entreate of peace. It hath bene long time a thing fatall to the Venetian state, to lose by warre, and recover the losse by composition. And those things which by the warres are taken from them, by the peace many times be restored double. The Venetians knew well, that the Milanesi mistrusted the Earle, and that he desired not to be their Captaine, but aspired to the principallitie of Milan. Also that it was in their choise to make peace with either of them: the one desiring it for ambition, the other for feare. Then they chose to make peace with the Earle, and deferred their aide for that enterprise: being perswaded, that if the Milanesi found themselves deceived by the Earle, they might grow so offended, as they would give themselves rather to anie other, then to him. Being then brought to this passe that they could not defende themselves, nor would trust unto the Earle, they should be enforced, (not having other refuge) to trust unto the Venetians. This resolution made, they

The Venetians fortunate.

Peace betweene the Earle and Venetians, without consent of the Milanesi.

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sounded the disposition of the Earle, and found him greatly disposed to the peace: as desirous that the victorie of Carravaggio might be his, and not the Milanieses. Then was there a composition concluded, wherein the Venetians bound themselves to paie unto the Earle, so long as he deferred the taking of Milan, thirteene thousand Florines for everie moneth: and during the rest of the warre, to aide him with foure thousand horse, and two thousand footemen. And the Earle for his part did binde himselfe to restore to the Venetians, all Townes, prisoners, and everie other thing by him taken, and rest contented with those Townes onely, which the Duke Philippo at his death possessed. This agreement being knowne in Milan, did bring much more sorrow to that Citie, then the victorie of Carravaggio had given gladnesse. The chiefe Magistrates lamented, the people were sorrowfull, the women and children wept, and all with one voyce, called the Earle disloyall and traytour. For although they beleaved not, either by intreatie or promises, to divert him from his unthankfull intent, yet sent they Embassadors to see with what face, and with what words, hee would maintaine his wickednesse. Who being come to the presence of the Earle, one of them spake to this effect.

Those that desire to obtaine any thing of others, were wont by entreatie, gifts, or threatnings, to perswade them. So that, either by compassion, by profit, or feare, they might compasse the thing which they desired. But of cruell men, and covetous, being in their owne opinion mightie (those three means not prevailing) nothing is obtained: so as whosoever doth trust by entreatie to make them pittifull, or by gifts to winne them, or by threatnings to feare them, deceiveth himselfe. We therefore now knowing (though all too late) thy crueltie, thy ambition, and thy pride, are come unto thee, not requiring any thing, nor hoping (though we had such desire) to obtaine it, but to put thee in remembrance what benefites thou hast received of the Milanesi, and laie before thee, with what ingratitude thou doest requite them. To the end, that among so many injuries by us endured, wee may take this only pleasure, to reprove thee. Thou oughtst to remember wel, what thy

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of the Mila-
nesi to the
Earle.

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state and condition was, after the death of Duke Philippo. Thou wert enemie to the Pope and the King. Thou wert abandoned by the Florentines and Venetians, who either justly offended with thee, or having no more neede of thee, wert become as their enemy. Thou wert weary of the war which thou hadst made with the church; Thou hadst fewe men, fewe friends, litle money, and bereft of all hope to be able to hold thine owne countrey, and thy auncient reputation: which should easily have bene taken from thee, had not our simplicitie helped. For we onely received thee, perswaded with the reverence we bare to the happie memorie of our Duke, unto whom thou (being allied) didst make us believe, that his love would have continued in his heires. And sith to his benefits, we joyned ours, that favour and friendship ought to have bene, not onely firme, but also inseparable. In respect whereof, to the auncient composition, we joyned Verona and Brescia. What could we more give thee or promise thee? And what couldst thou either of us or any others, in those dayes either have or desire more? Thou hast received of us a pleasure unlooked for, and we for recompence, have received of thee, a displeasure not deserved. Neither hast thou deferred thus long to shew thy pride. For thou wert no sooner General of our Armie, but contrary to justice thou didst receive Pavia: which ought to have warned us, to what end thy friendship tended. Which injurie we bare, supposing that victorie with the greatnesse thereof, would have satisfied thy ambition. But (alasse) those who desire all, cannot with inough be contented. Thou didst promise that we should enjoy all things after that time by thee wonne. For thou knewest well, that which thou gavest at many times, thou mightest resume at once: as it came to passe after the victorie of Carravaggio; which being begun with bloud and mony, was after followed with our destruction. O how unhappie are those Cities which be constrained to defend their liberties: against the ambition of all those that wold oppresse them: but much more unhappy be they that are inforced to imploy in their defence, mercinarie and disloyall souldiers, such as thou art. God graunt that this our example may be a warning to others hereafter: sith that of Thebe and

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Philip of Macidon, hath not warned us. Who having wonne victorie of their enemies, became of their owne Captaine, first their enemy, and after their Prince. We may not therefore be blamed of other fault, then to have trusted too much in thee, whom we ought not to have trusted at all. For thy former life, and thy insatiable mind, not contented with any honour or estate, might have forewarned us. Neither ought we to have reposed any trust in thee, who had betrayed the Lord of Lucca, fleeced the Florentines and Venetians, little esteemed the Duke, nor regarded the King, and above all, with many injuries offended God and his Church. Neither ought we ever to have beleaved, that so many Princes had lesse power of Francesco Sforza, then the Milanesi; or that he would keep his faith to us, which to so many others he had broken. But this our small wisdom which we do blame in our selves, doth not excuse thy breach of faith, nor purge thee of those infamies, which our just complaints shall disperse throughout the world. Neither can it be, but that the pricke of thine owne conscience will persecute thee. For those Armes which were prepared by us, to assault others, must now by thy meanes offend our selves: so as thou wilt judge thy selfe worthie of that punishment which murtherers have deserved. If ambition hath blinded thee, all the world being witnesse of thy wickednesse, will force thee to open thine eyes. God also will cause thee to behold thy perjuries, thy faith broken, and thy treasons. Which things so greatly displease him, that although hitherto, for some hidden good, hee hath not punished, yet will he never favour men so impiously disposed. Do not therefore promise thy selfe a victorie certaine, sith the just ire of God will impeach it, and we are determined with losse of libertie to lose our lives. Which if we be not able to defend, then have we rather to submit our selves to anie other Prince then to thy selfe. For if our sinnes be such, as against our willes we must fall into thy hands, be assured, a dominion begunne with craft and infamie, shall either in thee or thy children, ende with dishonour and shame.

The Earle notwithstanding he felt himselfe by the Milanesi many waies touched, yet shewed he no extraordinarie chaunge,

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answere.

either by word or jesture : but answered hee was content to beare their chollor, and the great injurie of their unwise words. Whereunto he would answere particularly, if they were before a Judge indifferent to determine the controversie. For it should appeare that he had not offended the Milanesi, but provided that they should not injurie him. And well he knew, after the victorie of Carravaggio what they had done: when in stead of rewarding him with Verona or Brescia, they sought to make peace with the Venetians. To the end, that upon him onely the displeasure should be laide: and they to enjoy the profit of the victorie, with the honor of the peace, and all the commoditie reaped by the warre. So as they had no cause to complaine, though he had made that composition which they practised to bring to passe. Which resolution being deferred, they were as much to blame their owne ingratitude, as find fault with him: and whether this were true or not, that God (whom they had called to revenge their injuries) would by the end of the war shew whom he most favoured, or which partie did fight with most justice. The Embassadors being departed, the Earle prepared to assaile the Milanesi, and they made readie for defence. Then with the vertue of Francesco and Giacompo Piccinino (who for the auncient hatred the Braccheschi bare to the Sforzeschi, had bene to the Milanesi faithfull) they hoped to defend their libertie: at the least, till such time as they might disunite the Venetians from the Earle, who they thought would not be long his friends nor faithfull. On the other side, the Earle knowing thereof, supposed it was wisdom, to binde the Venetians by reward, which would holde sure, though the bond of friendship were too weake. And therefore in giving order for the war, he was content that they should assault Crema, and hee with other forces would set upon the rest of that countrey. This composition laide before the Venetians, was the occasion that they continued so long in the Earles friendship, till he had surprized all the dominion of the Milanesi, and distressed the Towne so neare, as the dwellers therein could not make provision of things necessarie. In so much, as despairing of all other aide, they sent Embassadors to Venice, desiring the Senate

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Expostulation
of the Floren-
tines to the
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to have compassion of their estate, and be pleased, (according to the custome of Common-weales) to favour libertie, and disfavor a Tyrant. Who prevailing and become Lord of Milan, could not be by the Venetians easily brided. For they beleaved not, that he was content with the auncient conditions of the state, but aspired further. The Venetians not having yet the possession of Crema (which before they chaunged countenance, they determined to have) answered publikely, that in respect of the contract made with the Earle, they might not helpe the Milanesi, yet privately they entertained the Embassadors with hope, that a composition was likely to be made, and then, they should assure their Senate to trust unto them. The Earle with his men was already so near Milan, as they assaulted the suburbes, and the Venetians having taken Crema, thought good no longer to deferre the aiding of the Milanesi with whom they compounded. Among the first Articles, they promised by all meanes to defend their libertie. This new contract made, they commaunded that all their souldiers serving under the Earle, should depart from him, and retire themselves to the Venetians Campe. They also signified unto the Earle, the peace concluded with the Milanesi, to whom they had given twentieth daies space to accept it. The Earle marvelled not at this resolution taken by the Venetians, because that long before he had foreseene it, and looked the same should everie day come to passe. Yet could he not but be sorie, and feele the same offence, which the Milanesi did, when he abandoned them. For answering of the Embassadors sent from Venice to declare the League, he tooke the leisure of two daies. During which time, he determined to enterteine the Venetians, and not abandon the enterprise. And therefore publikely said, he would allow the peace, and sent Embassadors to Venice, with a large Commission to ratifie the same: yet secretly he commanded them, not to conclude, but with delaies and cavillations, to deferre the conclusion. And to make the Venetians the rather beleewe, that which hee spake, hee made truce with the Milanesi for one moneth: requiring his Campe farre from the Citie, and dividing his forces into other places neare hand, which he had lately wonne. This practise was occasion of his victorie, for the

The Venetians desirous to abandon the Earle.

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Venetians trusting to the peace, were more slow in preparation to the warre, and the Milanesi seeing the truce made, the enemy farre off, and the Venetians their friends, beleevied assuredly that the Earle would abandon the enterprise. Which determination, by two means hindred them. The first was, because they neglected to prepare for their own defence. The other, for that they laid the countrey open to the enemy. For the time then being fit to till the earth, they sowed great store of corne: by meane whereof, the Earle might the more easily famish them. To the Earle on the other side, all those thinges helped, which hindered the enemy: and besides the delaye gave him commoditie to take breath, and provide for aide.

In all this warre of Lombardy, the Florentines were not discovered to be of any side, nor to have favoured the Earle, either when he defended the Milanesi, nor after. For the Earle having had no need, did not with much earnestie seeke it. Onely after the overthrow of Carravaggio, by vertue of their Obligation in the Leage, they sent aide to the Venetians. But the Earle Francesco being alone, and wanting other refuge, was enforced instantly to praie aide of the Florentines, both of the state publicly, and of his friends privately: chiefly of Cosimo de Medici, with whom he had ever bene in great familiaritie, and was by him in all his actions faithfully counselled, and liberally supplied. Neither did Cosimo in this so great a necessitie forsake him: for as a private man he bountifully releevd him, and to follow the enterprise encouraged him. Hee also entreated the Cittie publicly to assist him where need required. At that time lived in Florence, Neri the sonne of Gino Capponi, a Citizen of great power, who thought it not good for the Citie, that the Earle should possesse Milan, supposing it more profitable for Italy, that hee should ratifie the peace, then prosecute the warre. First he doubted least the Milanesi for the displeasure they bare to the Earle, would yeeld wholly to the Venetians, which would be the ruine of everie man. Then he judged if the Earle should happen to surprize Milan, that so great forces and countries joyned together, were to be feared. And if he were insupportable, being an Earle, aspired to the title of Duke, no man should endure

Cosimo de
Medici, friend
to the Earle
Francesco.

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his pride. Wherefore, he thought better both for the Common-weale of Florence, and all Italy, that the Earle should continue with his reputation in Armes, and Lombardy to be divided into two common-weales, which would never joyne in the offence of an other, and one of them alone, could not offend : and for bringing this to passe, he saw no better meane, then not to aide the Earle, and maintain the old league with the Venetians.

These reasons were not of the friends of Cosimo accepted: because they thought that Neri did make them, not because he thought them good for the common-weale, but for that he would not, that the Earle being friend to Cosimo, should aspire to be Duke. Fearing least by that means, Cosimo should become over mighty : and Cosimo contrariwise proved, that aiding of the Earle, was both for Italy and that common-weale most profitable. And that it was no wise conceit, to thinke that the Milanesi could continue free, because the qualitie of their citie, their maner of life, and the factions inveterated there, were contrary to the forme of all civil government : so as, it behoved that the Earle should become Duke, or els the Venetians wold possesse it. And in that choyse, there was no man so witlesse, that knew not whether it were better to have at hand a mightie neighbour, or a more mightieemie. Neither could he thinke it to be doubted, that the Milanesi (for having warre with the Earle) would yeeld their obedience to the Venetians. For the Earle having a faction in Milan, and not they, whensoever they could not defend themselves as free, they wold rather yeeld to the Earle, then to the Venetians. These diversities of opinions held the citie doubtful what to determine. Neverthesse in the end was concluded : that Embassadors should be sent to the Earle to entertein a peace, and if they found him strong or likely to have the victory, then to conclude : or not, to use cavillations and delaies. These Embassadors were at Reggio, before they understood that the Earle was become Lord of Milan. For the Earle so soone as the time of truce was ended, environed the citie with souldiers, hoping within short space, in despite of the Venetians, to surprize it : because they were not able to succour it, saving on that side

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The Venetians aide the
Milanesi
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towards Adda : which passage, might easily be impeached, and it was not feared, (the winter being come) that the Venetians would encamp there. Also the Earle hoped, before the winter should passe, to have the victory, and the rather by the death of Francesco Piccinino, who had only left Giacompo his brother to governe the Milanesi. The Venetians had sent an Embassador to Milan, to encourage those Citizens to stand to their own defence, promising them great and speedie supplie. During that winter, some light skirmishes happened betwixt the Venetians and the Earle. But so soone as the season suffered, the Venetians under the conduct of Pandolfo Malatesta, brought their Army to Adda : where they consulted, whether it was best to assault the Earle, and thereby trie their fortune. Pandolfo their Capteine, thought not good to make that triall, in respect of the Earles vertue, and the sufficiencie of his armie : but hoped it was possible without fighting more safely to oppresse him : because the Earle at that present, was with the lacke of corne greatly distressed. His advise therefore was, that the campe should not dislodge, wherby the Milanesi might stil hope of ayd, and not by dispair yeeld them to the Earle. This opinion was by the Venetians allowed, as wel in respect of securitie, as that they thought the Milanesi, being in so great necessitie, should be enforced to yeeld to their dominion, persuaded that they wold never give themselves to the Earle, by whom they had bin many waies injured.

In this meane space the Milanesi were broght almost into extreme misery, and in that citie (naturally abounding with poore people) many died of famin, wherat the inhabitants murmured and complained. The magistrats therby grew afraid, and carefully provided that the people shuld not gather together. For although the multitude doth not hastily dispose it self to mischief, yet when it happen to be fully bent, every litle accident doth move it. It hapned that 2 men of mean condition, were near to the new gate, talking of the calamities of the city, and their misery, devising what means might be wrought for redres therof. Others drew unto them, till they were a good number. Therby a brute was blowne through Milan, that the in-

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habitants neare to the new gate were alreadie in Armes. Then all the multitude (which aspected onely occasion) tooke Armes and created Gasparo da Vicomercato their Captain, and went to the place where the magistrates were assembled: whom they so terrified, that so many as could, did flee, the rest were slain. Among whom Leonardo Veniero, the Venetian Ambassador was murthered: who had before that time rejoyced at their miserie, and was thought to have bene the occasion of the mischiefe and famine. Thus the multitude (as Lords of the Citie) among themselves consulted, what was to be done, to deliver them from so manifold sorrowes, wherinto they were entred. And every man thought good to yeeld the citie (sith the libertie could not be preserved) to some Prince that were able to defend it. Some said to the king Alfonso, some to the Duke of Savoia, and some to the French king. Of the Earle no man made mention, so great was yet the offence of the people towards him. Notwithstanding seeing they could not resolve upon any, Gasparo Vicomercato was the first that named the Earle: declaring at large, that if they would be discharged of the warre, there was no other way but to chuse him; because the people of Milan had necessitie of certain and present peace, and could not tarry long in hope of future relief. Moreover he excused the actions of the Earle, accusing the Venetians, and all the other Princes of Italy, because they would not, some for ambition, and some for covetise, that Milan should continue free. And therfore being forced to depart with libertie, it was best to yeeld to such a one, as could and would defend it. So as by that servitude, they might at the least gain peace without further losse, or war more dangerous.

Gasparo Vico-
mercato his
counsell.

This speech was with great attention hearkned unto, and every man with one voice consented that the Earle should be chosen, and Gasparo was made Ambassador to call him: who by commandement of the people, went unto the Earle to present him this pleasant and happie newes. The Earle willingly accepted the same and entered into Milan as Prince, the 26 of February, in the yere 1450. And was there with exceeding gladnes received, even by

The Earle
Francesco
become Duke
of Milan 1450.

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those who not long before had hated and defamed him. The newes of this victory being brought to Florence, order was taken with the Embassadors sent from thence (and were already upon the way towards the Earle) that in stead of entreaty of peace with him as Earle, they shuld congratulate the victory as Duke. These Embassadors were by the Duke honorably received, and bountifully entertained. For he knew wel that against the power of the Venetians, he could not find in all Italy, more faithful nor more mighty friends, then the Florentines. Who having removed feare of the Visconti, thought they should be forced to fight with Aragon and Venice. Because the house of Aragon then Kings of Naples, was their enemy in respect of the friendship by them borne to the house of France: and the Venetians knew that the auncient feare of the Visconti, was fresh, and that carefully they had persecuted them; wherefore doubting the like persecution, sought their ruine. These matters were the occasion that the new Duke was easily induced to friend the Florentines, and that the Venetians and the King Alfonso, agreed to joyne against their common enemy: binding themselves at one selfe time, to take armes; and that the King should assault the Florentines, and the Venetians set upon the Duke. Who being new in the state, was not (as they thought) neither able with his owne forces to withstand them, nor with the aide of others could be defended. Yet because the league betwixt the Florentines and Venetians continued, and that the King after the warres of Piombino had made peace with them, they thought not good to breake that peace, till such time as they had some colour to make warre. Wherefore both the one and the other, sent Embassadors to Florence, to signifie in the behalf of their Lords, that the league was made not to offend any man, but to defend their Countries. And moreover the Venetians complained, that the Florentines had given passage to Alisandro, brother to the Duke of Lunigiana, whereby he with his forces passed into Lombardy: and that they were also the Authors and Councellours, to make the agreement betwixt the Duke and the Marquesse of Mantova. All which things (they said) were prejudiciall to their state, and

League betwixt King Alfonso and the Venetians.

Embassadors from Venice to Florence.

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the friendship betwixt them. Wherefore friendly wished them to remember, that who so offendeth an other wrongfully, doth give occasion to him that is offended, justly to seek revenge: and he that breaketh the peace, must ever looke to find war.

The answer of this Embassage was by the Senate committed to Cosimo: who in a long and wise Oration, laid before them all the benefits which his citie had bestowed upon the Venetian common-weale. Declaring how great dominion they had wonne by means of the mony, the men, and counsel, of the Florentines. And assured them, that sith the Florentines did occasion the friendship, no cause of warre should ever proceed from them. For they having bene ever lovers of peace, commended greatly the agreement betwixt them, so as for peace, and not for war the same were made. But he marvelled much of the Venetian complaints, and that of so small and vain matters, so great a common-weale wold make account. But if they had bene worthie consideration, yet was it knowne to the world, that the Florentine country was free, and open to all men, and the Duke was such a one as to win friendship with Mantova, had no need, either of counsel or favour. Wherefore he doubted, that these complaints, had under them hidden, some secret poison not yet perceived. Which so being, every man should easily understand, that as the Florentines friendship did profit them, so their displeasure could hinder them. Thus for that time the matter was lightly passed over, and the Embassadors seemed to depart wel inough contented. Notwithstanding, the league being made, the maner of the Venetians and the Kings proceedings, did occasion the Florentines and the Duke, rather to looke for some new war, then hope of firme peace. Therefore the Florentines joyned in league with the Duke, and in the mean while, the evil disposition of the Venetians was discovered: because they made league with the Sanesi, and banished all the Florentines, with every other person subject to the state of Florence. Shortly after, the king Alfonso did the like, without any respect to the peace made the yeare before, and without just cause or coloured occasion. The Venetians laboured to gain the possession

The Embassador answered.

League betweene the Florentines and Duke.

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Preparation
for warre in
Florence.

of Bologna, and for that purpose aided the banished men of that Citie, who with many others, found means in the night to enter the towne. They were no sooner within the walles, but themselves made an Alarum. Whereat Santi Bentivogli suddenly start up, and knowing that the Citie was surprized by Rebels: (although hee were by many friendes counselled, by fleeing to save his life) yet would he in any wise shew his face to Fortune, take armes, and encourage others to do the like. He therefore with some others, made head and assaulted part of the Rebels, and brake them, sleying many, and forcing the rest to flee the Citie. Whereuppon every man judged, that hee had made good prooffe to be of the right race of Bentivogli. These actions, brought unto Florence a firme beliefe of the future warre. Therefore the Florentines resorting to their auncient orders, created the ten Magistrates for the war, entertained new Captaines, sent Embassadors to Rome, to Naples, to Venice, and to Siena, to procure aid of their friends, discover suspects, gaine the good will of those that were neutrall, and sounde the determination of enemies. Of the Pope they could get nothing but general words, curtesie, and perswasion to peace. Of the King they understood only his vaine excuses for discharging the Florentines, and offered to give safe conduct to everie man that desired it. And albeit he went about by all meanes, to conceale the intention of the new warre, yet the Embassadors knewe well his evill meaning, and detected manie dealinges of his, to the disadvauntage of their Common-weale. With the Duke they renewed the League, fortifying the same with sundrie Obligations: and by his meanes gained the good will of the Genovesi: cancelling all former quarrels. Notwithstanding that the Venetians had laboured manie wayes, to impeach that composition, and intreated the Emperour of Constantinople to banish from his countries all the Florentine Nation. So greatly they grew into hate by this war, and so great force had their desire of government, as without respect, they sought to oppresse those who were the cause of their greatnesse. Neverthelesse by that Emperour they were not hearkened unto. The Embassadors for the Florentines, were by the Venetian Senate forbidden

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to enter into their Countrey: alleaging that they being in league with the King, might not (without his privitie) give them audience. The Sanesi entertained the Embassadors with curteous words, fearing to be surprized before the league could defende them: and therefore thought good not to stirre those Armes, which they were not able to resist. The Venetians and the King (as was then conjectured) would have sent Embassadors to Florence, to justifie the warre. But the Embassadour for the Venetians, would not enter into the Florentines dominion, and the Kings Embassador durst not alone execute that message. Whereby the Embassage was not performed. And the Venetians by meanes thereof, knew that they were litle esteemed of the Florentines, whom they (a few months past) esteemed not much. During the feare of these motions, the Emperour Federigo the third, came into Italy to be crowned, the thirtie day of January, in the yeare 1451. And entring into Florence with a thousand five hundred horses, was by that Cittie, most honourably received and entertained, till the sixt of February. At which time hee tooke his journey from thence towards his Coronation at Rome, where he was solemnely Crowned and married to the Emperesse, being come thither by sea. These ceremonies performed, the Emperour returned towards Germany, and came againe to Florence in the moneth of May: where he was used with the same honours he had there before received. Also in his returne, having bene pleased by the Marquesse of Farrara, for recompence the Emperour granted unto him the Cities of Modena and Reggio. During all these doings, the Florentines omitted not their preparation for the war, giving themselves reputation, and the enemies terror. They and the Duke joyned league with the French King, for defence of all their countries in generall. Which league with great magnificence and rejoycing, they published throughout all Italy.

The Emperour Federigo
in Florence.

By this time was come the yere 1452, when in May, the Venetians thought good no longer to deferre the warre against the Duke. Wherefore with sixteene thousand horse, and sixe thousand footemen, they assaulted him towards Lodi: and at the same time the Marquesse of

The Duke
of Milan
assaulted.

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Monferato, either provoked by his owne ambition, or by the Venetians request, assaulted him on the other side, towards Alessandria. The Duke on the contrary part, had assembled eighteene thousand horse, and three thousand footemen. And having furnished Alessandria and Lodi, he likewise fortified all those places which the enimie might offend. Then with his souldiers he assaulted the country of Brescia, where he greatly endammaged the Venetians, spoiling that country, and sacking those townes which were not strong. But the Marquesse of Monferato being broken by the Dukes forces at Alessandria, the Duke might with the more strength encounter the Venetians, and assault their country. Thus the war of Lombardy proceeding, and therin sundry accidents (not worthie memorie) hapning: it came to passe, that the like war begun in Toscana betwixt the King Alfonso, and the Florentines: which was performed with no more vertue, nor more peril, then that of Lombardy. Ferrando the bastard son of Alfonso, came into Italy, with 12,000 souldiers, conducted by Federigo Lord of Urbino. Their first enterprise was to assault Fojano in the vale of Chiana: for having frendship of the Sanesi, they might that way enter into the territorie of Florence. That Castle was weakly walled, and of smal receipt, therefore with no great number defended, yet those few in the Castle were accounted at that time valiant and loyall souldiers. The number sent by the Senate to guard that Castle, were 200. This Castle in that sort prepared, was by Ferrando besieged: and the vertue of those within so great, and so litle the value of them without, that till the end of 36 dayes it was not wonne. The protract of which time, gave the Cittie commoditie to provide to defend other places of more moment, to assemble their forces, and put them in readinesse.

The enemy having taken this Castle, passed into Chianti, where they set upon two small towns belonging to private men, and could not win them; but marched from thence, and besieged Castellina, a fortresse seated upon the confines of Chianti, within ten myles of Siena; which place both by Art and Nature is exceeding weake: notwithstanding (so base was the courage of this Campe) as it could not con-

Fojano
assaulted by
Ferrando.

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quere that Castle of no force at all. For after they had besieged it 44 dayes, they departed thence with shame. So smal terror was in those armies, and so litle peril in those wars, as those townes which at this day are abandoned as impossible to be kept, at that time, as places impregnable, were defended. During that Ferrando remained with his Camp in Chianti, he made many roades into the Florentines country, spoiling that Province within sixe miles of the Cittie, to the great losse and terror of the Florentine subjects. Who having by that time prepared forces to the number of eight thousand, under the conduct of Astore di Faenza, and Gismondo Malatesti, held the enemies aloofe towards the Castle of Colle, fearing alwaies they should be forced to fight, and thought, that if they lost not that day, they could not lose the warre. Because the small Castles being lost, might be recovered by peace, and the great townes were assured, by reason the enemy was not able to assaile them. The King had also upon the sea neare to Pisa, twentie saile of Gallies and Foysts. And while La Castellina was assaulted, that Navie battered the fortresse of Vade, which through the small diligence of the Captaine was taken. By meane whereof, the enemy afterwards molested the country thereabouts. Which molestation was easilie removed of certaine souldiers, adventurers, sent by the Florentines: who constrained the enemy not to retire far from the sea side. The Pope during these warres, intermedled not, but where he hoped to make peace betweene the parties. For he refrained the warres abroad, fearing greater troubles at home.

In those dayes lived Steffano Porcari, a Citizen of Rome, Steffano Porcari. both for birth and learning (but much more for courage and magnanimitie of minde) to be honoured. This Steffano (according to the custome of men, desirous of glorie) thought to do, or at the least to attempt some thing worthie memorie. Then imagining he could not take in hand any thing more worthie, then to deliver his country from the subjection of the priests, and reduce it to the ancient libertie, resolved to enterprise that action, hoping thereby (if it were brought to passe) to be called a new founder and father of Rome. Those things which gave him hope of happie successe, were

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Some do suppose this Canto to be written, not unto S. Porcari, but to Nicholo di Renzo, a gentleman Romane, by Petrarche, who therin serveth to divine, that in Rome shuld arise a Knight famous thorowout all Italy.

the wicked conversation of the Prelates, with the discontentment of the Barrons and people. But above all other, he was most encouraged with certaine verses written by the Poet Francesco Petrarcha, in his song, which beginneth thus.

Spirto gentil, che quelle membra reggi: etc.

*Sopra il monte Tarpeo, Canzon Vedrai
Un Cavallier, che Italia tutta honora
Pensoso più d'altrui, che di se stesso: etc.*

This Steffano was perswaded, that Poettes many times were inspired with the divine spirite of prophesie: Whereof hee conceived, that fortune would assuredly happen unto him, which Petrarcha had in his verses prophecied, and that himselfe was the man, that should be the executor of so glorious an enterprise: imagining that for eloquence, for learning, for favour, and friends, there was no Romane to him comparable. This conceipt possessing him, he resolved to execute the same; yet could he not so secretly practise, but by words, by conversation, and his manner of life, somewhat was discovered, and by that mean became suspected to the Pope: who (to remooove him from the commoditie of doing harme) confined him to Bologna, and commaunded the Governor of that Citie everie day to see him. Notwithstanding, Steffano for this first disgrace, dismaied not; but with the more endeavour followed his enterprise: and by all secret and subtile meanes practised with his friends, going to Rome, and returning with such speed, as he might at times necessarie present himselfe to the Governour. And so soone as hee had drawne a sufficient number of men to be of his minde, determined without further delaie to attempt the enterprise: giving order to his friends in Rome, that at a time prefixed, they should prepare a solemne supper, where all the conspirators should meete, and everie man bring with him his assured friends, and hee himselfe before the supper were ended, would be there also. All things were done according to appointment, and Steffano arrived at the feast. After supper, apparelled himselfe in cloath of gold, and other ornaments, which gave him Majestie and reputation. In that sort, he came forth

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to the conspirators, embracing them, and perswading them with long speech to be resolute, and readie to performe so glorious an attempt. Then he devised the order therof, appointing part of them, the next morning to surprize the Popes Pallace, and the rest to call the people to armes. The same night (as some say) through infidelitie of the conspirators, the matter was revealed to the Pope. Others affirme, that it came to knowledge by those that sawe Steffano come into Rome. But howsoever it were, the same night after supper, the Pope caused Steffano, with the most part of his companions to be apprehended, and according to their merits put to death. Such was the end of this his enterprise. It may be, that some wil commend his intention, yet wil his judgment of all men be reproved. Because this and such like enterprises, although they carry with them a shadow of glorie, yet in execution they bring (almost ever) assured misadventure.

Steffano put
to death.

The war had now continued in Toscana almost one whole yeare, and the armies were returned to the field, in the yeare 1454. At which time, Alisandro Sforza was come to the Florentines, with supply of two thousand horse. Wherby the Florentine army was wel encreased, and the Kings Camp diminished. The Florentines thought good to recover some things by them lost, and so with small labor gained the possession of certaine Townes. Afterwardes they incamped before Fojano, which through negligence of the Commissaries, was sacked: and the inhabitants being dispersed, wold not willingly return thither, til such time as by priviledges and rewards they were allured. The fortresse of Vada, was also recovered: For the enemies seeing they could not defend it, did presently abandon and burn it. During the time that these things were done by the Florentine army, the Kings souldiers fearing to come neare their enemies, retired themselves towards Siena, many times spoiling the Florentines country, committing robberies, tumults, and exceeding great displeasures. Neverthesse that King omitted not to devise some other way to assault the enemies, to cut off their forces, or by new troubles and assaults to keep them occupied. Gherardo Gambacorti was Lord in the vale of Bagno. He and his auncestors

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either by friendship or by obligation, had alwaies in times past, either as hired, or as recommended, served the Florentines. With him the King Alfonso practised to have that countrey, and offered in recompence therof, an other in the kingdome. This practise was discovered at Florence, yet to sound the disposition of Gherardo, they sent an Embassador to remember him of the obligation of his ancestors, and his owne also, and therewith to persuade him to continue his fidelitie towards that Commonweale. Gherardo seemed to mervaille much at this message, and with great othes protested, that never any disloyall thought had entred his minde; and that he would come unto Florence, and make his owne person a pledge of his fidelitie: nevertheless, being at that present sick, he could not goe thither, but with the Embassador would needs send his sonne to remaine in Florence as an hostage.

These words, and this demonstration brought the Florentines to beleieve, that Gherardo had said troth, and his accuser being accounted a liar, was not regarded, nor the accusation any more thought upon. Notwithstanding, Gherardo being still solicited by the King, at length consented to the practise. And having concluded the same, the King sent to the Vale of Bagno a Knight of Jerusalem called Puccio, and with him diverse bands of souldiers, to take possession of the Castles and Townes belonging to Gherardo. But those people of Bagno being affectionate to the Florentines, verie unwillinglie promised their obedience to the Kings Commissaries. Puccio having taken possession of all that state, wanted onely to possesse himselfe of the fortresse of Corzano. When Gherardo delivered this possession, there was present among many others, one called Antonio Gualandi of Pisa, a yong man verie valiant, and such a one, as was with the treason of Gherardo greatly discontented. He considering the scite of the fortresses, and finding by the countenance of those souldiers who guarded it, that they were likewise displeased. While Gherardo stood at the gate to let in the Kings souldiers, Antonio came betwixt him and the Castle, and with both his hands forcibly thrust him out: commaunding the Guard to shut the gates against so wicked a Traytor, and keepe the same to the use of the

The Vale of
Bagno re-
volted from
the Floren-
tines.

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Florentines. This rumor being heard in the Vale of Bagno, and other places neare unto it, all the people tooke armes against the King, and followed the Florentines ensigne. This matter advertised to Florence, the Florentines caused the sonne of Gherardo (remaining with them in hostage) to be put in prison : and sent souldiers to Bagno to defend the country for them, changing that government from a principallitie into a Vicariato. But Gherardo, having thus betrayed both his Lords and his owne sonne, with great difficultie fled, leaving his wife, his daughter, and his substance, at the discretion of the enemy. This accident stood the Florentines greatly in stead : For if the King had possessed that Countrey, he might with small charge, and easily have gotten the Vale of Teveri, and spoiled Casentino, whereby he should have so much troubled the state, that the Florentines could not have bene able to encounter the forces of Arragon which remained at Siena.

The Florentines besides their owne preparation in Italy, the rather to oppresse their enemies, had sent Agnolo Acciaiuoli Embassador to the French King, to perswade him to licence Rinato de Angio, to come in the aide of the Duke and them. By which meanes he should defend his friends, and afterwards being in Italy, attend the surprizing of the Kingdome : whereunto they offered him aide both of men and money. During the warres in Lombardy and in Toscana (as is before said) the Embassador concluded with King Rinato of Angio, that before the end of June, he should come into Italy with two thousand and foure hundred horse : and that at his arrivall in Alessandria, the League should give him thirtie thousand Florins readie payment : and every moneth after, during the warres, tenne thousand. The King then by vertue of this league, coming into Italy, was by the Duke of Savoia, and the Marquesse of Monferato impeached : for they being friends to the Venetians, would not permit him to passe. Whereupon the King was perswaded by the Embassador of Florence, to returne to Provenza with certaine of his army, and from thence to passe into Italy by sea. And on the other side, to perswade with the French King to procure so much favour of that Duke, that the rest of his souldiers might

Rinato de
Angio called
into Italy by
the Floren-
tines.

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come through Savoia. According to this counsell the matter was handled, and the King Rinato went by Sea into Italy, conveying the rest of his Army through Savoia by the French Kings mediation. The King Rinato was by the Duke Francesco most honorably received, and having joyned the Italian forces with the Kings, they assaulted the Venetians with so great furie, that within short space they recovered all those Townes in Cremonesi which they had before lost: and not so content, they surprized almost all the countrey of Brescia. The Venetian army fearing to tarry in the field, retired to the walles of Brescia. But the winter being come, the Duke thought good to withdraw his souldiers to their lodgings, appointing for the Kings abroad, the Cittie of Piacenza, where he remained all that winter, in the yeare 1453, without any other action performed. So soone as the time of yeare served, and that the Duke was going to the field, in hope to dispossesse the Venetians, of the rest of their Countries upon the firme land, the King Rinato signified unto him, that of necessitie he was to returne into Fraunce. This intention of the Kings, seemed to the Duke not onely strange, but also unlooked for, and therefore greatly offended him: and albeit he went in person presently to dissuade him, yet neither his intreatie nor promises could take effect; but onely promised to leave behinde him part of his forces, and to send his sonne Giovanni to supplie his place in service of the League. This resolution grieved not the Florentines, for they having recovered their Castles, feared not the King any longer. And on the other side, they desired that the Duke should not recover more, then the townes in Lombardy to him belonging.

The King Rinato being gone, sent according to promise his sonne into Italy, who stayed not in Lombardy, but went presently unto Florence, where he was very honorably received. The matter thus handled by the King, did occasion the Duke to be content with peace, and the Venetians, Alfonso, and the Florentines, being likewise wearied, desired the same. The Pope also by all meanes laboured to bring it to passe, bicause the same yeare Mahumetto the great Turk had taken Constantinople, and made himselfe Lord of all

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Greece: which victorie terrified greatly all Christians, but chiefly the Venetians and the Pope, who thought Italy was thereby in great danger. The Pope therefore desired the Potentates of Italy to send Embassadors unto him, with authoritie to establish an universall peace; which commission was performed: and notwithstanding that altogither they joyned, and seemed all to allow of the motion, they found neverthelesse therein great difficultie. The King required that the Florentines should pay his charges in the warre past, and the Florentines would be paid themselves. The Venetians demaunded Cremona of the Duke, and the Duke asked of them Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema; so that these difficulties seemed impossible to be removed: notwithstanding, that which at Rome seemed hard to be concluded, at Milan and Venice proved easie. For when at Rome the peace universall was practised, the Duke and the Venetians betwixt themselves made an agreement on the ninth of April, in the year 1451. By vertue whereof, every of them should repessee those townes which were theirs before the warre. And it was graunted to the Duke, that he might recover his townes taken from him by the Lords of Monferato and Savoia. And to the other Princes of Italy, one moneth was allowed to ratifie the same. The Pope, the Florentines, the Sanesi, and the lesser Potentates, within the time appointed, made their ratification. Moreover, betwixt the Florentines, the Duke, and the Venetians, a peace was concluded for fifteene yeares. Onely the King Alfonso among all the Italian Princes seemed therewith discontented, bicause he thought it was contrary to his reputation to be named in the contract of peace, not as a principall, but as an adherent. For which consideration, he pawed long, before he would lay downe his resolution. But being solicited by sundrie solemne Embassages of other Princes, he was at length content (and chiefly by the Pope) to be perswaded, and with his sonne entred this league for thirtie yeares: confirming the same with alliances and crosse marriages betwixt the Duke and the King, their sonnes marrying one the others daughter. Notwithstanding, to the end that some seeds of the warre might remaine in Italy, he consented not to make the peace, before such

Peace be-
tweene the
Venetians and
the Duke.

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time as those of the League would give him leave without their injurie, to make warres upon the Genovesi, Gismondo, Malatesti, and Astor Prince of Faenza. This conclusion made, Ferrando his sonne then being at Siena, returned to the Kingdome, having sithence his arrivall in Toscana not gained any dominion, but lost great numbers of souldiers. This universall peace being concluded, it was onely feared, least King Alfonso for the displeasure he bare to the Genovesi, would disturbe the common quiet: but the matter came otherwise to passe, for the King did not openly move any disturbance, but (as it hath alwaies happened by the ambition of mercinarie souldiers) the peace was by them interrupted. The Venetians had (as their manner is) the warres being ended, discharged their Generall Giacopo Piccinino, who taking unto him certaine other Captaines (likewise discharged) went into Romagna, and from thence to the countrey of Siena: where Giacopo staying, begun the warre, and surprized certaine Townes belonging to the Sanesi.

Troubles
moved by
Giacopo Picci-
nino, and
supported
by King
Alfonso.

At the beginning of these troubles in the yeare 1455, died Pope Nicholo, and to him succeeded Calisto tertio. This Pope, to repress the new warre, assembled all the forces he was able, making Giovanni Ventimiglia his Generall; who with certaine Florentines, and other souldiers sent from the Duke for that purpose, went against Giacopo, and fought with him neare unto Bolcena: where notwithstanding that Ventimiglia was taken prisoner, yet Giacopo had the worst, and was forced to retire to Castalione della Piscaia, and had he not bene by Alfonso relieved with money, he should then utterly have bene overthrowne; which reliefe, discovered that Giacopo had taken that enterprise in hand, with the privitie and direction of that King. Alfonso finding himselfe discovered, to be reconciled to the other Princes consenting to the peace, (whose favour by meanes of this weake warre he had almost lost) procured that Giacopo should restore to the Sanesi all the townes he had taken from them, and they to give him twentie thousand Florins. And this agreement made, the King received Giacopo with his souldiers into the Kingdome. In those dayes, notwithstanding that the Pope intended to bridle

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Giacopo Piccinino, yet was he mindfull also of the defence of Christendome, likely to be oppressed by the Turks. For which purpose, he sent into all Christian Countries Embassadors and Preachers, to perswade with Princes and people, to arme themselves for the aide of Religion, and to give money and personall service to this enterprize, against the common enemy. He caused also solemne processions to be made, declaring both publicly and privately, that he himselfe would be among the first of the Christians that should assist that action, with counsell, money, and men. But the heate of this Crociata was cooled, with advertisements that the Turke and his army being at Belgrado (a Castle of Hungary upon the river of Danubio) was by the Hungarians hurt in his person, and his Camp broken, so that the Popes and Christians feare, conceived by the losse of Constantinople, was thereby ceased, and the preparation they made for the warre proceeded coldly. In Hungary likewise by the death of Giovanni Vaivoda, Captaine of that victorie, the warre was discontinued. But returning to the matters of Italy, I say, that in the yeare 1456, the tumults moved by Giacopo Piccinino were ended: so that every man having laid aside armes, it seemed as though God had taken them in hand. For there happened in Toscana most tempestuous windes, such as never before had bene heard of, nor shall be, which wrought most mervailous and memorable effects.

Upon the 24 of August, one houre before day, there arose from the Sea towards Ancona a great and darke clowd, crossing Italy, and entering the Sea towards Pisa, stretching two miles in compasse. This storme was furiously carried, (and whether by natural or supernaturall force) divided into many parts, as it were fighting amongst themselves. And of those broken clowds, some were hoised up towards heaven, some violently cast downe, and some with wonderfull speed were turned round; but alwaies before them came a winde, with lightnings and flashing of fire, so terrible, as cannot be expressed. Of these broken and confused clowds, and of those furious winds, and great flames, there grew so strange a noise, as moved the people to greater feare, then any Earthquake or thunder ever had

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Pope Calisto
perswadeth a
generall war
against the
Turks.

A mervailous
tempest in
Toscana.

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done: in so much as every man thought the world was ended, and that the earth, the water, and the heaven, should have returned to the old Chaos. This fearefull storme, wheresoever it passed, wrought mervailous and wonderfull effects. But the most notable of all, happened about the Castle of S. Cassiano.

This Castle is builded upon the hill which parteth the Vales of Pisa and Grieve, eight miles distant from Florence. Betwixt that said Castle, and the towne of S. Andrea, builded upon the same hill, this furious tempest passed, not comming to S. Andrea, but at S. Cassiano threw downe certaine turrets and chimneys: and neare thereunto subverted whole houses even to the ground, and carried away whole roofes of the Churches of S. Martino a Bagnolo, and S. Maria della pace; bearing them from thence unbroken, the space of more then one mile. One man also a Carrier, was taken up, and in the valley next unto the way, both he and his Moyles found dead. Moreover, all the greatest okes and strongest trees which would not bend at the furie of the tempest, were not onely broken, but also with violence borne farre from the place where they grew. Whereat, the next day, when the tempest was ceased, and men returned to those places, they were greatly astonied, for they found the Countrey desolate and spoiled, the houses and the temples overthrowne, the people lamenting and beholding their houses cast downe, and under them their goods, their cattle, and their parents slaine: Which thing, both in the beholders and hearers thereof, moved a marvellous compassion. By this meane, it pleased God rather to threaten, then punish Toscana. For if so great a tempest had fallen upon any Citie full of houses and inhabitants, as it fell upon these oakes, trees, and small houses, one farre from the other, without all doubt, the destruction would have bene greater, then the mind of man could have conceived. But it pleased God, by that small example to revive in mens mindes, the memory of his power.

But now to returne to our matter. The King Alfonso (as is before said) discontented with the peace, and seeing that the warre which he caused Giacompo Piccinino to make upon the Sanesi without any reasonable occasion, had

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The Genovesi
assaulted by
King Alfonso.

wrought no effect, he thought to move an other with the allowance of the league. And in the yeare 1456 he assaulted the Genovesi both by sea and land, as desirous to give that state to the Adorni, and deprive the Frigosi who then governed. Besides that, he caused Giacopo Piccinino to passe Tronto, and assault Gismondo Malatesti, who having well manned his townes, regarded not much the assault of Giacopo, so as the enterprise of the King on this side tooke no effect at all. But that warre of Genova occasioned more warre to him and his Kingdome, then himselfe looked for. At that time Pietro Fregoso was Duke of Genova; he fearing himselfe to be of force unable to withstand the Kings assault, determined to give that to an other which himselfe could not hold: and yeeld it into the hands of such a one that would (at the least in that respect) defend him; so might he also hope in time to come, to be re-acquited. Then sent he Embassadors to Carlo the seaventh, King of France, and offered him the dominion of Genova. Carlo accepted this offer, and to take possession of that Cittie, sent thither Giovanni de Angio sonne to King Rinato, who not long before was departed from Florence, and returned into Fraunce. For Carlo was perswaded, that Giovanni having bene before imployed in Italy, knew how to governe that Cittie better then any other: hoping also, that being there, he might devise upon the enterprise of Naples, of which Kingdome, Alfonso had dispossessed his father Rinato. Then went Giovanni to Genova, and being there, was received as Prince. All the fortresses belonging to the Cittie, with the whole government, were delivered to his hand. This accident displeased Alfonso, thinking he had drawne in an enemy over mightie: yet not dismayed therewith, courageously followed his enterprise, and sayled on with his Navie, till he came under Villa Marina, at Ponto Fino, where taken with a sodeine disease, he died.

Genova in the
possession of
the French
King.

By death of this King, Giovanni and the Genovesi were delivered of the warre, and Ferrando (who succeeded his father Alfonso in the Kingdome) grew suspitious, least an enemy of so great reputation in Italy, might happily win the favour of many his Barons, whose fidelitie he doubted,

The death of
King Alfonso.

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and whose mindes he knew desirous of Innovation: for which respects, they might percase be perswaded to joyne with the French. He also instructed the Pope, whose ambitious mind (as he thought) aspired to take from him this new Kingdome. His onely trust was in the Duke of Milan, he being indeed no lesse carefull of the Kingdome, then was Ferrando: for he mistrusted, that if the French did prevaile, they would also labour to surprize his state, which they had some colour to claime, as to them appertaining. That Duke therefore, presently upon the death of Alfonso, determined to give that Kingdome unto Pietro Lodovico Borgia his nephew. Also (to make that enterprise seeme more honest and acceptable to the rest of the Italian Princes) he published, that his intent was, to reduce that Kingdom under the Church of Rome: perswading the Duke in that respect, not to favour Ferrando, offering him those townes which of auncient time he possessed in the Kingdome. But in the midst of these imaginations and new troubles, Pope Calisto died, and in his place was created Pio secundo, borne in Siena, and of the family of Piccolhuomini. This Pope minding onely to benefite the Christians, and honor the Church, setting aside all private passion, at the Duke of Milans request, crowned the King Ferrando: thinking he should better appease the warres by mainteining of him in possession, then by favouring the French, to give them the Kingdome; or if he should (as Calisto did) challenge it for himselfe. For this benefite, Ferrando gave unto Antonio the Popes nephew, the principallitie of Malfi: and married him unto his owne base daughter. He restored also Benevento and Terracina to the Church. Then all men supposing that the armes of Italy were laid downe, the Pope tooke order to moove the Christians to make warre upon the Turks, as it was before devised by Pope Calisto. At which time, there rose great dissention betwixt the Fregosi and Giovanni de Angio Lord of Genova: which dissention, revived a warre of more importance, then was the other alreadie passed.

The death of
Pope Calisto.

The Genovesi
revolted from
the french.

At that time, Pietrino Fregoso happened to be at a Castle of his in Riviera. He not holding himselfe according to his merits rewarded, by Giovanni de Angio, (who by

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help of him and others of his house was made Prince) became open enemy to Giovanni. This discord pleased Ferrando, as that, which might onely be the meanes of his good speed. Then sent he men and money to Pietrino, hoping by his aide to drive Giovanni from that state. Which he knowing, sent into Fraunce to encounter Pietrino. There finding much favour, he received a great supply, and went against Pietrino, who was become strong also: so as Giovanni retired into the Cittie, where also in the night Pietrino entred, and possessed some places thereof: but the next morning was by the souldiers of Giovanni assaulted and slaine, and all his men likewise either slaine or taken. This victorie encouraged Giovanni to set upon the Kingdome: and in October 1459 with a mightie navie he departed from Genova. And landing at Baia, marched from thence to Sessa, where he was by the Duke of that countrey received. Then came unto Giovanni the Prince of Tarranto, the Cittizens of Aquila, with many other townes and Princes, in so much as that Kingdome was almost ruined. Ferrando seeing that, desired aide of the Pope and the Duke. Also to have the fewer foes, made peace with Gismondo Malatesti, wherewith Giacopo Piccinino (being naturall enemy to Gismondo) became so much displeased, as he discharged himselfe from the service of Ferrando, and joyned with Giovanni. Ferrando also sent money to enterteine Federigo Lord of Urbino, and within short space he assembled (according unto that time) a great army. Then marched he to the river of Sarni, where he found the enemy, and fought with him: in which conflict, the forces of King Ferrando were overthrowne, and many of his principall Captaines taken. But notwithstanding this overthrow, the Cittie of Naples, with a fewe other townes, and some Princes, continued faithfull to Ferrando, though all the rest of the Realme, and Nobilitie, yeelded their obedience to Giovanni. Giacopo Piccinino perswaded Giovanni to follow the victorie, and presently to marche to Naples, thereby to possesse himselfe of the chiefe Cittie of the Kingdome; which Giovanni refused to do, saying he would first spoile all the countrey, and then it would be more easie to surprize the Cittie, which was the cause, he failed

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Thekingdome
of Naples
assaulted by
Giovanni de
Angio.

King
Ferrando
defeated.

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to performe that enterprise: for he knew not, that the parts do more willingly follow the head, then the head doth follow them. After this overthrow, the King Ferrando being fled into Naples, thither resorted unto him diverse of his subjects, who were driven from their countreys: then by all curteous meanes he levied men and money to make a new Camp, sending againe for aide to the Pope and Duke. From the one and the other of whome he was aided more speedily and abundantly then before time he had bene, because they greatly feared, he should otherwise lose his Kingdome. King Ferrando in this sort growne strong, marched out of Naples, and having gotten some reputation, recovered also part of his lost townes. During these warres in the Kingdome, a chance happened, that utterly deprived Giovanni de Angio of reputation and meane to have victorie in that enterprise.

The Genovesi being wearie of the French insolent and covetous government, tooke armes against the Kings Governour there, and forced him to flee to the little Castle of Genova. The Fregosi and the Adorni were content to joyne in that action, and by the Duke of Milan they became furnished of money and men, both for the winning, and keeping the Cittie. So that the King Rinato with his navie came to the succour of his sonne, and hoping to recover Genova, by meane of the small Castle, in landing his souldiers, was overthrowne; and forced with shame to returne unto Provenza. These newes being carried to the Kingdome of Naples, greatly dismaied Giovanni de Angio: notwithstanding, he still followed his enterprise, and continued the warre, being served by those Barons who were rebelled, and could not looke for favour of Ferrando. In the end, after many accidents, those two royall armies joyned battell, wherein, neare unto the Cittie of Troia, Giovanni was vanquished, the yeare 1463. This overthrow did not so much hinder the successe of the King Giovanni, as did the revolt of Giacopo Piccinino, who left him, and joyned with King Ferrando: whereby being spoiled of his forces, he retired into Histria, and from thence to Fraunce. This warre continued foure yeares, and was in the end lost by his owne negligence, for it was

Giovanni
de Angio
vanquished
in battell.

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many times in good way of victorie by the vertue of his souldiers. Therein the Florentines intermedled not apparantly, yet were they desired by Embassadors of the King Giovanni of Arragon (newly come to that Kingdome by the death of Alfonso) to assist the enterprise of Ferrando his nephew, as they had bound themselves by the league lately made with Alfonso his father. To whome by the Florentines it was answered, that they were not by any obligation bound to aide the sonne in that warre, which was begun by the father : for as the same had bene without their counsell or knowledge taken in hand, so without their assistance it should be performed and ended. The Embassadors being thus to the request of their King answered, protested the execution of their band, and the Kings prejudice, so in great displeasure with that Cittie, departed. The Florentines during these warres, continued in peace abroad, but within they rested not, as in the next Booke shall be particularly declared.

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TO those that have read the former Booke, it may seeme in writing of Florence, and the proceedings of the Florentines, we have overmuch spoken of such accidents as hapned in Lombardy and the Kingdome. Neverthelesse, as heretofore I have, so am I hereafter to continue with the like discourses. For albeit I did not promise to write of matters concerning Italy, yet have I thought good to speake of those, that were in that countrey most notable. For if I should not make mention of them, our historie would be with more difficultie understood, and to the Readers lesse pleasing. Chiefely, bicause the actions of other people and Princes of Italy, did occasion the warres, wherein the Florentines were forced to intermeddle, as of the warre of Giovanni de Angio, and King Ferrando great enimitie grew, which was after betwixt Ferrando and the Florentines, and particularly with the house of Medici continued. For the King complained, that the Florentines did not onely leave him in that warre unaided, but also that his enemies were by them favoured: which anger, was the occasion of exceeding many inconvenients, as shall be hereafter declared. And for as much as I have written at large those matters which happened without the Cittie, till the yeare 1463 it behoveth me for the declaration of such troubles as happened in those daies within, to looke back many yeares passed. Yet first by way of discourse (as is my custome) I say, that whosoever doth thinke, that any Common-weale can continue united, he greatlie deceiveth

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himselfe. But true it is, that some divisions be prejudiciall to Common-weales, and some others be profitable. Those be prejudiciall, which are with factions and followers accompanied. And those are profitable, which without factions and followers bee maintained. Seeing then, it is a thing impossible, for that man who frameth a Common-weale, to provide that no enimitie shall therein arise, he ought (at the least) foresee, that no factions be permitted. It is then to be considered, that the Citizens in everie state do win reputation, either by publike or private meanes. Publike reputation is gotten by victorie in the field, by surprizing of townes, by wise and discreet performing of Embassages, or by counsailing the State gravely and fortunately. By private meanes men attain to reputation, by pleasuring particuler citizens, by saving them from punishments, by relieving them with money, by advancing them unworthily to honors and offices, and by entreteining the common people with sports and publike gifts. From these causes, faction, following, and partaking do proceed. And as reputation thus gotten is hurtful, so the other not being intermeddled with faction, is the occasion of great good, because it is grounded upon no private, but common commoditie. And albeit among such Citizens, so great displeasures wil grow, as the wisdom of man is not able to prevent, yet wanting partakers to follow them for proper profit, they cannot by any way hinder the common-weale, but shal rather help it: for in aspiring to that they would come unto, it behoveth them to indevor the advancement of the state, and particularly one to respect the other, so much, as the lawes and civil orders be not infringed. The enimities of Florence were alwaies followed with factions, and therefore hurtfull to the state, neither was any victorious faction longer united, then the contrary part continued in force: for so soone as the enemies were extinguished, the faction remaining no more in awe of the enemy, nor having order to bridle it selfe, became divided. The faction of Cosimo de Medici in the yeare 1434 remained with victorie. Neverthesse, because the partie oppressed was stil great, and full of mightie men, it continued united and tollerable, so long, as among those of the faction, no error was com-

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Cosimo de
Medici. Neri
Capponi.

mitted, and the people for no evill desert did hate them: and whensoever that government had need of the people to reestablish their authoritie, they found them readie to give unto the chiefe of the faction the Balia, and whatsoever else they desired. Thus from the 1434 till the 55, being 21 yeares, they were confirmed in office 6 times, ordinarily elected by the Councils.

There were in Florence (as we have diverse times said) two most mightie Citizens, Cosimo de Medici, and Neri Capponi, of whome, Neri had gained his reputation by publike meanes: by reason whereof, he had many friends, but few followers. Cosimo on the other side being aspired both by publike and private waies, had not onely many friends, but also many followers. These two men continuing united, during their lives, easily obtained of the people whatsoever they desired, bicause they had love mixed with authoritie. But the yere 1455 being come, Neri dead, and the adverse part extinguished, Cosimo found no small difficultie to be confirmed, and his own friends being most mightie in the state, were cause therof: bicause they feared no more the contrary faction put downe, and desired to decrease the power of Cosimo; which was the beginning of those divisions which followed after in the yere 1466. So as they unto whome the offices appertained, in their councils, where the publike government of that state was debated, did alleage it was not convenient that the authoritie of Balia should be resumed, but that the order of election ought proceed, as it was wont, by lots, and not according to the former Squittini. Cosimo, to quallifie this humor, had to determine upon one of these two remedies, either by force with the aide of his friends and followers to possesse himselfe of the State, and therewith to compell the contrarie faction, or else to suffer the matter proceed, and in time let his friends know, that not his honor, but their reputation was by the enemy taken away. Of these two remedies, he made choise of the last: for hee knew well, that the Squittini being fullest of his friends, himselfe could not incurre any perill, and might also at his pleasure resume the State. The Cittie then determined to create the Magistrates by lot: the greatest number thought the

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libertie recovered, and that the offices should not after be allotted, according to the will of the most mightie men, but as seemed best to themselves. Whereupon, the followers of the great Cittizens began to be disesteemed, and by the people were in sundrie places beaten downe and oppressed. So as they who were wont to have their houses full of suters and presents, were now become emptie, and without any resort at all. They also sawe themselves made equall with those who were before time farre under them, and their equals were become their superiors. They were not regarded nor honored, but rather many times mocked and derided. Also in the streets, the people without respect, spake their pleasures both of them, and of the Common-weale. Whereof was conceived, that they, and not Cosimo, had lost the government. All which things Cosimo dissimuled, and whensoever any thing plausible to the people was propounded, he was ever the first that allowed thereof. But that which most terrified the great men, and made Cosimo to looke about him, was the reviving of the Catasto the yeare 1427. Whereby was ordeined, the Imposition should proceed by the order of lawe, and not the pleasure of men.

This lawe made, and Magistrates for execution thereof chosen, occasioned the great Citizens to assemble, goe unto Cosimo, and desire him be pleased to concurre with them in their, and his owne delivery from the people: whereby he should recover reputation to the State, make himselfe mightie, and them honored. Thereunto Cosimo answered, he was content, so that the lawe were made orderly with consent of the people, and without force; otherwise no speech to be thereof. Then went they about in the Councils to make a new Balia, whereby they might create new Officers, but that intention prevailed not: then the great Cittizens returned to Cosimo, desiring him most humble to consent to the Parliament, which Cosimo utterly refused to do: meaning thereby to bring to passe, that they should finde the error they committed. And bicause Donato Cochi, being Gonfaloniere di Giustitia, would in any wise without his consent call the Parliament, Cosimo procured him by the rest of the Senators, (who sate with him in

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Lucca Pitti.

Girolamo
Machiavelli.

office) to be so mocked and disdeined, as thereby he became mad, and was as a man sencelesse, sent home to his house. Notwithstanding, bicause he thought it not fit to suffer matters to runne further out of order, then that they might be at his pleasure reformed: Lucca Pitti become Gonfaloniere di Giustitia (a stout and selfe-willed man) Cosimo thought good to leave the government to his discretion, to the end, that if any thing were misdnone, the fault might be to Lucca and not to himselfe imputed. Lucca then in the beginning of his Magistracie, propounded many things to the people, touching restauration of the Balia, but not obtaining his desire, with injurious words full of pride, he threatned those of the counsels: Which threatnings, shortly after he performed in deed. For in August upon the eve of S. Lorenzo, the year 1458 he assembled secretly within the Pallace many armed men, called the people thither, and forced them to consent to that, which voluntarily they had before denied. By this means being againe in possession of the State, the Balia was created, and the chiefe Magistrates according to the pleasure of a fewe, were appointed. Then to begin that government with terror, which was gotten by force, they confined Girolamo Machiavelli, with some others, and deprived many from their offices, which Girolamo having afterwards passed the bounds of prescription, was proclaimed a Rebell. Then went he from place to place in Italy, to perswade the Princes against his countrey, till at length in Lunigiana, through the treason of one of that Senate, he was taken, brought to Florence, and there in prison died. This forme of government continuing eight yeares, was violent and insupportable. For Cosimo being old, weake, unhealthie, and unable to be present as he was wont, at the affaires of the Commonweale, a fewe Cittizens at their pleasures did rob and spoyle the Cittie. Lucca Pitti for his good service was made Knight, and he to declare himselfe no lesse thankfull to the State, then the State had bene to him, caused that the Officers called Priori delli Arti, having passed their authoritie, should be called Priori della Liberta. He ordeined also, that whereas the Gonfaloniere was woont to sit on the right hand of the Rettori, that after he should be placed

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in the midst of them. Moreover, to the end that God might seeme partaker of this action, they made publike processions and prayers, thanking him for the restauration of their honors. Lucca was by the Senate, and by Cosimo richly presented. To him also everie other Cittizen resorted, and gave somewhat, so that it was supposed that the summe of his presents amounted unto twentie thousand duckets. In conclusion, he aspired to such greatnesse of reputation, as Lucca, and not Cosimo, seemed to governe the Cittie. Thereupon he conceived so great confidence, that he began to build two houses, the one in Florence, the other in Rucciano, a mile distant from the Cittie, both stately and kingly buildings. But that in Florence was much larger then by any private Cittizen had ever bene builded. For performance thereof, he spared not to use all extraordinarie meanes. For not onely private Cittizens and particuler men did present him, and help him with things necessarie for his building, but the whole communitie and people did put their hands to his works. Moreover, all banished men, and everie other person having committed murther, theft, or other offence, whereof he feared publike punishment (if he were abled to his service any way) might without all danger resort thither. The other Cittizens, although they builded not like unto him, yet were they no lesse violent, and inclined to oppression: so as, albeit Florence had no warre abroad to hinder it, yet was it by the Cittizens within oppressed.

Ordinances
by Lucca
Pitti.

In those dayes (as is before sayd) happened the warre in the Kingdome: and some warres were also made against the house of Malatesti, by the Pope, being desirous to take from them Rimino and Cesena: so that in this enterprise, and his studie to move the warre against the Turke, Pope Pio consumed his Papacie. But Florence continued still in divisions and troubles. For then began the faction of Cosimo to be divided within it selfe, the yeare 1455 which happened by the occasions before said. Yet were they (for that time) by his wisdom appeased. But the yeare 64 being come, Cosimo fell againe sick, and dyed. At his death, both friends and foes lamented: for they, who in respect of the State loved him not, seeing what extortion

The death of
Cosimo di
Medici.

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was used by the Cittizens in his life, doubted (least Cosimo being dead whome all men revered) they should be utterly ruined, and of his sonne Piero they hoped not much. For albeit he were of disposition a good man, yet being sickly, and new in the government, they thought he should be forced to respect others, who without any bridle, would become strong and incorrigible. Everie man therefore feared to find great want of Cosimo. This Cosimo was the most esteemed, and most famous Cittizen (being no man of warre) that ever had bene in the memorie of man, either in Florence, or any other Cittie, because he did not onely excell all others (of his time) in authoritie and riches, but also in liberalitie and wisdom. For amongst other qualities which advanced him to be chiefe of his Countrey, he was more then other men, liberall and magnificent. Which liberalitie appeared much more after his death then before. For his sonne Piero found by his fathers Records, that there was not any Cittizen of estimation, to whome Cosimo had not lent great summes of money: and many times also unrequired he did lend to those Gentlemen, whome he knewe to have need. His magnificence likewise appeared by diverse his buildings. For within Florence, he builded the Abbaies and Temples of S. Marco, S. Lorenzo, and the Monasterie of S. Verdiana. And in the mountaines of Fiesole, S. Gerolano, with the Abbey thereunto belonging. Also in Mugello, he did not onely repaire the Church for the Friars, but tooke it downe, and builded it anew. Besides those magnificent buildings in S. Croce, in S. Agnoli, and S. Miniato, he made Altars, and sumptuous Chappels. All which Temples and Chappels, besides the buildings of them, were by him paved, and throughlie furnished with all things necessarie. With these publique buildings, we may number his private houses, whereof one within the Cittie meete for so great a personage, and foure other without at Carriaggi, at Fiesole, at Cafaggivolo, and at Trebio, all Pallaces fitter for Princes then private persons. And because his magnificent houses in Italy did not in his opinion make him famous ynough, he builded in Jerusalem an Hospitall to recive poore and diseased Pilgrims. In which worke, he consumed great summes of money. And albeit

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these buildings, and every other his actions were princely, and that in Florence he lived like a Prince, yet so governed by wisdom, as he never exceeded the bounds of civill modestie. For in his conversation, in riding, in marrying his children and kinsfolks, he was like unto all other discreet and modest Citizens: because he well knew, that extraordinarie things which are of all men with admiration behelded, do win more envie, then those which without ostentation be honestlie covered. Whensoever therefore he married his sonnes, he never sought to match them with the daughters of Princes, but wedded his sonne Giovanni, to Cornelia Alessandri, and Piero, to Lucretia Tornabuoni. Also of his graund children begotten of Piero, he married Bianca to Guglielmo de Pazi, and Nannina to Barnardo Russellai. These his proceedings caused, that in so great change of fortune, and in so variable a Cittie, among so inconstant Cittizens, he continued a Magistrate 31 yeares. For being a wise man, he discovered all inconvenients a farre, and therefore might in time prevent them, or if they did grow, be so prepared, as they could not offend him. Whereby he did not onely suppress all domesticall and civill ambition, but also bridled the insolencie of many Princes with so great happinesse and wisdom, that whosoever joyned in league with him and his countrey, became either equall or superior to his enemies. And whosoever opposed themselves against them, either they lost time, money, or state. Whereof the Venetians can beare witnesse, who being joyned with him against the Duke Philipppo, were alwayes victorious: and being disjoyned, were first by Philipppo, and after by Francesco victored and oppressed. Also when they joyned with Alfonso against the state of Florence, Cosimo with his credit, made both Naples and Venice so scarce of money, as they were constrained to take what peace himselfe was pleased with. Whatsoever difficultie or contradiction was moved against Cosimo, either within or without the Cittie, the end thereof was to his glorie, and the disadvantage of his enemies. Therefore all civill discords increased his authoritie in Florence, and forraine warres augmented his power abroad. He annexed to the dominion of his Countrey Borgo at S. Sepolcro,

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Montevoglio, Casentino, and the Vale of Bagno. Thus his vertue and fortune, oppressed all enemies, and advanced his friends.

He was borne in the yeare 1389 on the feast day of S. Cosimo and Damiano. The first part of his life was full of troubles, as appeareth by his exile, his imprisonment, and his dangers of death. Also at the Councell of Constanza (whither he went with the Pope Giovanni) after the Popes oppression, he was forced to disguise himselfe, and flee. But having passed the fortie yeare of his age, hee lived most happily: in so much, as not onely they which joyned with him in publique actions, but all other men also that maneged his treasure in everie place of Europe, did participate of his felicitie. Also many excessive rich houses in Florence had their beginning from him, as Tornabuoni, Benchi, Portinari, and Sassetti. Besides all these, everie man depending upon his counsell, and fortune, became wealthie. And albeit that his building of Temples, and giving of almes, was knowne throughout the world, yet would he to his friends many times lament, that he had not spent and bestowed so much to the honor of God, but that he found himselfe still in his booke a debtor. He was of meane stature, in complexion browne, and of presence venerable: unlearned, yet eloquent, and full of naturall wisdome; friendlie to his friends, and pittifull to the poore. In conversation he was frugall, in counsell advised, in execution speedie, in speech and answering, wittie, and grave. Rinaldo de li Albizi in the beginning of his exile sent him a message, saying that the hen did sit: whereunto Cosimo answered, that she could never hatch, being farre from her nest. To other Rebels who sent him word they slept not: he answered, that he beleevd the same, because there, sleepe was taken from them. Unto the Pope Pio, perswading Princes to take Armes against the Turke, Cosimo said, An old man taketh in hand a yong enterprise. To the Embassadors of Venice, who came with the messengers of Alfonso, to complaine of the Florentines, he shewed his head bare, and asked of what colour it was? they answered white. Then he replying, said, that ere it be long, your Senators will also have white heads like unto

The description of Cosimo his person, and his wit.

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mine. His wife, a few houres before his death, seeing him shut his eyes, asked him for what cause he so did? He answered, to bring them in use. Some Citizens saying unto him after his returne from exile, that he hindered the Cittie, and offended God, in banishing so many honest men? To them hee answered, It was better to have a Cittie hindered, then lost; and that the State was not defended with beades in mens hands. Which words, gave his enemyes matter to speake evill of him, as a man that loved himselfe more then his Countrey, and that esteemed more this world, then the world to come. Many other sayings, as things not necessarie, I omit.

Cosimo was also a lover and preferrer of learned men, for he brought unto Florence Angiropolo, a Grecian borne, and in that time of singuler learning, to the end that the youth of Florence might be by him instructed in the Greeke toong, and other his good learnings. He enterteyned in his house Marsilio Ficino, a second father of the Philosophie of Plato, and him he entirely loved. Also, to the end he might with commoditie exercise the studie of learning, and more aptly use his help therein, he gave him certaine land neare unto his house of Careggi. This his wisdom, these his riches, this manner of life, and this fortune, were the causes, that in Florence he was both feared and loved, and of the Princes not onely of Italy, but also of all Europe esteemed: so as he left unto his posteritie such a foundation, as they might with vertue equall him, and in fortune farre excell him. Whatsoever authoritie Cosimo had either in Florence, or elsewhere in Christendome, he deserved the same: notwithstanding, in the end of his life, he had great sorrowes. For of two onely sonnes, Pietro, and Giovanni, the one (of whome he most hoped) did dye: the other was continually sick, and therefore unable either for publique or private function. In so much as his sonne being dead, he caused him to be carried about the house, and he following the Coarse, sighed, and saide, this house is over great for so small a familie. It also offended the greatnesse of his minde, that he had not (in his owne opinion) enlarged the Florentine dominion with some honorable conquest. And it grieved him the more, knowing that Francesco

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Sforza had deceived him, who being but Earle, promised, that so soone as hee was possessed of Milan, hee would winne the Cittie of Lucca for the Florentines. Which was not performed, because the Earle with his fortune changed his minde, and being become Duke, determined to enjoy that state with peace, which he had gotten by warre. Therefore he would neither keepe touch with Cosimo nor any other, neither would he after he was Duke, make anie more warres then those that for his owne defence hee was enforced unto. Which grieved Cosimo greatly, finding that he had endured great paines, and spent much, to advance a man unthankfull and perfidious: Moreover by the weaknesse of his bodie, he found himselfe unfit to follow either private or publique affaires, whereby the one, and the other, miscarried. Because the Citie was destroyed by the Citizens, and his owne substance by his ministers and children was consumed. All these things in the last end of his age, did greatly disquiet his minde: Notwithstanding he died with glorie. And all the principall Citizens, and all the Christian Princes did condole his death with Pietro his sonne, and accompanied his coarse to the Temple of S. Lorenzo, where with great pompe it was buried: and by publique consent was written upon his Tombe, *Pater Patriæ*. If in this discourse of Cosimo, I have imitated those, which have written the lives of Princes, and not those which write universall histories: let no man marvell thereat. For hee being a rare man in our Citie, deserved I should affoord him extraordinary commendation.

In those dayes, that Florence and Italy stood in the conditions aforesaide, Luigi King of France, was with greivous warres assaulted. For the Lords of his owne Countrey, assisted by the Dukes of Bretagna and Burgogna, made the war so great upon the King, that he had no meane to aide the Duke Giovanni de Angio, in his enterprise of Genova and the kingdome. But judging that he had neede of ayd whatsoever, he gave the Citie of Savona (then in his hand and kept by French men) to Francesco Duke of Milan: letting him understand, that (if he so pleased) he might also with his favour, assault Genova. Which offer was accepted by Francesco, and either through the reputation

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The Duke of
Milan, Lord
of Genova.

of the Kings friendship, or the favour of the Adorni, he became Lord of Genova. Then to declare himselfe thankful for the benefit received of the King, he sent into France to the Kings aide, a thousand five hundreth horse, conducted by Galiazzo his eldest sonne. Thus Ferrando of Aragon, and Francesco Sforza, were become, the one Duke of Lombardy and Prince of Genova: the other, King of all the kingdome of Naples. And having married their children, the one, to the other, they devised by what meanes they might, during their lives, maintaine their countries with securitie: and after their deaths, so leave the same to their heires. For which purpose, they thought it necessarie, that the King should assure himselfe of those Barons, which in the war of Giovanni de Angio, had disobeyed him: and that the Duke should endeavour himselfe to extinguish those that had bene brought up in the warres by the Bracci, naturall enemies to his house, and growne up in great reputation under Giacopo Piccinino, who was the chieftest Captaine in all Italy; and such a one as everie Prince ought to beware of: chiefly the Duke who could not account his dominion assured, nor leave the same to his sonnes, if Giacopo did still live.

The King therefore by all meanes sought to make peace with his Barons, handling the matter cunningly to assure him selfe of them, which fell out very happily. Because the Barons did thinke, that in continuing the warre against their King, the same would be in the end their undoubted ruine: and yeelding to the peace, they should stand at the kings discretion. But because men do most willingly eschue that evill which is most certaine, it commeth to passe, that Princes may easily deceive others of lesse power: and so these Lords gave credit to the King. For they seeing the manifest danger of the warre, yeelded themselves into his hands, and were uppon sundrie occasions by him oppressed: which greatly dismaied Giacopo Piccinino, at that time remaining with his forces at Salmona. And to remove occasion whereby the King might oppresse him, he practised by his friends, to be reconciled to the Duke Francesco, who having made him great and honourable offers, Giacopo resolved to put himselfe into his hands: and being accompanied with one hundreth horse, went to Milan to present

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Giacopo Piccino, suspected to the Duke.

Giacopo Piccinino, murdered.

himselfe unto the Duke. Giacopo had long served his father, and with his brother; first for the Duke Philippo, and after for the people of Milan. Whereby he gained great acquaintance in that Citie, and the good will of the multitude, which was encreased by the present condition of the Citie. For the good fortune, and great power of the house of Sforza, had kindled great envie: And Giacopo for his adversitie and long absence, was greatly by the people pitied, who desired much to see him. All which things appeared at his comming. For welneare all the Nobilitie went to meet him, and the streets were full of those which desired to see him. Besides that, great honour was spoken of him and his souldiers. All which things, did hasten his destruction, because they encreased suspition, and the Dukes desire to oppresse him. For the more covert performance thereof, the Duke devised, that the marriage with his daughter Drusiana, who had bene long before contracted unto him, should now be solemnized. Then he practised with Ferrando, to entertaine him, for Generall of his Army, and promised him a hundreth thousand Florins in prest. After this conclusion, Giacopo, accompanied with the Dukes Embassador, and Drusiana his wife, went unto Naples, where he was joyfully and honourably received: and for diverse dayes entertained with all sorts of triumph and feasting. But at length desiring to go unto his Campe (which he left at Salmona) he was by the King convited to dinner in the Castle. The dinner being ended, both he and his sonne were imprisoned, and shortly after put to death. Whereby may be perceived, that our Italian Princes have feared that vertue in others, which was not to be found in themselves: and did smother the same so long, as no vertue at all being left, our country became shortly after, afflicted and ruined.

In these dayes the Pope Pio having setled all things in Romagna, thought the time served well, in respect of the universall peace, to move the Christians to make warre against the Turke: according to the plot set downe by his predecessors. To the performance of this exployt, all Princes did contribute mony or men. And in particuler Mathia King of Hungary, and Carlo Duke of Borgogna,

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promising to go in person, were by the Pope made Capitaines generall of that journey. The Pope had so great hope of proceeding in this enterprise, that he went from Rome to Ancona, where all the Armie were appointed to assemble: and the Venetians did promise to send vessels to passe the souldiers into Schiavonia. After the Popes arrival in that Citie, the concourse of people there was so great, that within fewe dayes all the victuall of that citie, and that could be brought thither from other places thereabouts, did not suffice. In so much as everie man began to taste of famine. Moreover, there wanted mony to furnish the souldiers of things needfull, and arme those that were disarmed. Mathia and Carlo appeared not, and the Venetians sent thither one onely Capitaine with a fewe Gallies, rather to shewe their pompe, and seeme to have kept promise, then to passe the Armie. So as the Pope being old and sicke, in the midst of these businesses and disorders, died. After whose death, everie man returned home. This Pope being dead, the yeare 1465 Paulo secundo, borne in the Cittie of Venice, aspired to the Papacie. About that time, many other states of Italy chaunged their government. For the same yeare following, died Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, having usurped that Dukedome sixteene yeares. And Galiazzo his sonne, was proclaimed Duke. The death of this Prince, was the occasion that the divisions of Florence, became of more force, and wrought their effects with the more speed.

The death of
the Duke
Francesco.

After the death of Cosimo di Medici, Piero his sonne being left in possession of the goods and lands of his father, called unto him, Diotisalvi Neroni, a man of great authoritie, among the other citizens of most reputation: and one in whom Cosimo reposed so great trust, as at his death he willed Piero both in his substance and state, to be by his counsel governed. Piero accordingly declared unto Diotisalvi the trust which Cosimo had in him: And because he would shewe himselfe as obedient to his father after death, as he was in his life: he desired Diotisalvi to assist him with his counsell, both for the order of his patrimonie, and the government of the Citie, and to begin with his own private businesse, he commaunded all his Officers to resort

Piero di
Medici.

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Dissimulation
of Diotisalvi
Neroni.

unto him with their accounts, and leave the same with Diotisalvi, to the end that he might finde out the order and disorder of their doings, and so counsell him what was best afterwards to be done. Diotisalvi promised to use diligence, and performe the trust in him reposed. The Officers being come and examined, were found to have committed many disorders. And thereupon (as a man that more respected his owne ambition, then the love he bare to Piero, or the benefits he had received of Cosimo) imagined it was easie to deceive Piero of the reputation, and livings left him by his father. Diotisalvi came unto Piero offering him counsaile, which seemed verie honest and reasonable, yet under the same laie hidden the destruction of Piero. Hee told him what disorder he found in his affaires, and how it behoved him to provide great summes of mony for the holding of his credit, and reputation in the state; and therefore said, he could not more honestly repaire his disorders and losses, then by calling in those debtes which many straungers and Citizens did owe unto his father. For Cosimo to gaine himselfe followers in Florence, and friends abroad, was exceeding liberall of his substance; and had for that occasion lent out summes of great importance. This counsaile to Piero seemed good, and honest, supposing he should by execution thereof, without perill, repaire himselfe with his owne. Notwithstanding so soone as hee called for these debts, the Citizens grew no lesse offended, then if hee should have desired their owne goods, and without respect they spake evill of him, slaundering him to be a man unthankfull and covetous.

A practise
against Piero
di Medici.

Diotisalvi seeing this common and populer disgrace, which Piero had gotten by his counsaile, joyned himselfe with Lucca Pitti, Agnolo Acciaivoli, and Nicholo Soderini, determining to take from Piero, reputation and government. These men were moved thereunto for diverse respects. Lucca desired to succeed in the place of Cosimo, for hee was aspired to such greatnesse, as he disdained to await upon Piero. Diotisalvi, knowing that Lucca was not fit to be chiefe of the government, thought if Piero had lost his reputation, it would in short time fall upon himselfe. Nicholo Soderini, desired that the Cittie might live more

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Offence be-
tween the
Acciaivoli and
the Medici.

at libertie, and that the Magistrates might governe at their discretion. Also betwixt Agnolo and the house of Medici, remained particuler displeasures. The occasion whereof was this. Rafaello his sonne, had long before, taken to wife Alessandra de Bardi, and received with her a great dowrie. She, either through her owne default, or the mallice of others, was by her father in lawe and her husband, evill handled. Whereupon Brenzo de Illarione her kinsman, being moved with compassion, went in the night accompanied with many armed men, and tooke her out of the house of Agnolo. Agnolo and the rest of the Acciaivoli, complained of this injurie done them, by the Bardi. The matter was committed to the hearing of Cosimo, who judged that the Acciaivoli should restore the marriage money received with Alessandra, and shee after to return to her husband, or not, as her selfe was disposed. Agnolo thought himselfe in this judgement not friendly handled by Cosimo, of whom, because hee could not be revenged, he thought to execute the revenge upon his sonne. These conspirators notwithstanding the diversitie of their humors, pretended all one occasion, saying they would have the Citie governed by the magistrates, and not by the counsaile of a fewe.

The displeasure towards Piero, and the evill speech of him was encreased by many marchants, who at that time became banker out, and laide the fault thereof upon Piero, for that he calling home his money hastily, had hindered their credit, and forced them with the prejudice of the Citie to be undone. Besides that, they did surmise, that he practised to marry his sonne with Clarise Orsini. Whereof the Citizens conceived that he did disdaine to make alliance with any Citizen: therefore prepared to usurpe the state, and make himselfe Prince. For whosoever disdaineth his owne Citizens to be of his kindred, desireth to have them his subjects. In these respects they had no reason to be his friends. The leaders of this sedition, persuaded themselves to have the victorie in their own hands, because the greater number of the Citizens (deceived with the name of libertie, whereby they used to make their enterprises, seeme more honest) followed them. These humours then boyling in the breasts of the Cittizens, it was thought good to them,

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whome civill disorder displeased, to assaie, if by some new found mirth or feast, the mindes of men might be settled. For most commonly the idle people be instruments for those that desire alteration. Then to remove this idlenesse, and give some occasion to alienate the minds of men from consideration of the state, the yeare of Cosimo his death being passed, they tooke occasion to make the Citie some mirth, ordaining two tryumphs more solemne then was the custome. The one made representation how the three Magi came from the East, following the starre that ledde them to the place where Christ was borne: which was performed with so great solemnitie, as entertained the Citie diverse moneths. The other was a torniament, wherein the principall yong Gentlemen of the Citie exercised Armes against all the chiefe men of Armes in Italy. And of the Florentine youth, Lorenzo the eldest sonne of Piero gained most honor: for not by favour, but in deed by his owne valour, he wanne the best prize.

These triumphs being ended, the Citizens returned to thinke of the state, and everie man with more care then before, studied to maintaine his owne opinion, whereof great diversitie of conceits, and troubles ensued. The one was, that the authoritie of Balia tooke no effect. The other, by the death of Francesco Duke of Milan. Whereuppon the newe Duke Galiazzo sent Embassadors to Florence, to confirme the capitulations made by Francesco his father: wherein among other things it was concluded, that yearly the Duke should receive from them certaine summes of money. Upon this Article, the Governours of the state, tooke occasion to hold opinion contrarie to the House of Medici, publicuely in these Councils, inveying against that payment, alleaging that pencion to be promised, not to Galiazzo, but unto Francesco. For Francesco being dead, there was no cause to continue it. Because in Galiazzo there was not that vertue, which was in Francesco: and so consequently, that good was not, nor could not be looked for at his hand, which was found at his fathers. And although of Francesco they received not much, yet were they to looke for lesse of Galiazzo: and if any Cittizen would entertaine him, to maintaine his owne private power,

League
betweene the
Duke Galli-
azzo and the
Florentines.

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that were a thing contrarie to civill life, and the libertie of the Citie. Piero on the contrary, alleaged, that it were not well done, through covetousnesse, to lose a friendship so necessarie: and that there was nothing so meete, for the Common-weale, and all Italy, as to continue in league with the Duke. To the ende that the Venetians seeing them united, might not hope either by fained friendship or by open warre, to oppresse the Dukedome. For if they should perceive, the Florentines to have forsaken the Duke, they would presently take Armes, and the rather, knowing he was yoong, newly come to the government, and without friends. Wherof they might hope either by fraud or force to win his countrey, which would be also the utter ruine of the Florentine Common-weale. These reasons were not allowed, and secret hatred began openly to shewe it selfe. For the same night, either partie, in diverse companies assembled. The friends of the Medici, met at Crocetta, and their adversaries in La Pieta, who studying to oppresse Piero, had gotten their enterprise subscribed with the hands of many Citizens. Also, being among many other times, one night assembled, they held a particuler Councill for the maner of their proceeding; when everie man consented to diminish the power of the Medici: yet in the order how to bring the matter to passe, they concurred not. Some, that were of most modest nature, thought that the authoritie of the Balia being ended, it were best to finde meanes, that the same might not be revived: for if the Councels and Magistrates did governe the Cittie, the authoritie of Piero would be in short space extinguished; and with losse of his reputation in the state, he should also lose his credit in merchandize. For being no more in place, where he might imploy the publique treasure, he should of necessitie grow weake; which being brought to passe, there would not be after any cause to feare him: and all this practise might bee performed without banishment of anie man, and the libertie without blood recovered, which every good Cittizen ought to desire. But if they proceeded by force, many perils might be incurred: for whosoever is readie to fall alone, if he be forced by others, will labour to staie himself up. Moreover, when nothing

Consultation
to oppresse
the Medici.

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is done extraordinarily against him, he shall not have any occasion to Arme himselfe, or seeke friends; or if he should, the same would turne to his great reproach, and breede suspition in everie man: so as his overthrow shall be the more easie, and others take occasion the rather to oppresse him. Many others of that assembly liked not this delaie: affirming the time favoured him, and not them. For if they were contented with ordinary proceedings, Piero was in no danger at all, and they in great perill: Because the Magistrates (notwithstanding they were his enemies), would suffer him in the Citie, and his friends, with their ruine (as it happened in the yeare 58) would make him Prince; and as the former counsell proceeded from good men, so this was the opinion of wise men. It was therefore necessary, that while men be displeased, to make him sure. The meane to bring the same to effect, was to be armed both within and without, and also to enterteine the Marquesse of Farrara, to be the better defended. Which done, when a Senate happened to be for the purpose, then to make all assured. In this resolution they staid till the next Senate, and proceeded according to the quallitie thereof.

Among the conspirators, was Nicholo Fedini, whom they imployed as Chauncellor, he perswaded with a hope more certaine, revealed to Piero, all the practise agreed upon by his enemies, and delivered him a note of all their names; which Piero perused, and seeing the number and quallitie of the Citizens who had conspired against him, tooke counsell of his friends, and made a note likewise of them. Then he committed this rolle of friends to be made by one whom he most trusted, who considering therof, found so great varietie, and instabilitie, in the mindes of the Citizens, that many who had bene written for his enemies, were also inrolled among the rest, who were accounted his friends. During the space that these matters, with these alterations were handled, the time was come to chuse two supream Officers, and Nicholo Soderini was elected Gonfaloniere de Giustitia. It was a marvellous thing to see, with what concourse not onely of honourable Citizens, but of all sorts of people, he was accompanied to the Pallace, and passing uppon the waie, they set on his head a garland of Oliffe, to shewe that

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of him depended the welfare and libertie of the Countrey. By this and many like experiences, it is proved, that men should not take upon them any Office or principallitie with extraordinarie opinion. For not being able to performe such expectation (men desiring more then can be) doth in time breed his own dishonour and infamie. Thomaso and Nicholo Soderini were brethren: Nicholo was the bolder and more courageous, but Thomaso, the wiser, and friend to Piero. Who knowing his brothers humour, that he desired onely the libertie of the Cittie, and that the state might be settled without harme of any, perswaded Nicholo to make new Squittini, whereby the Borsi might be filled with such Cittizens as loved to live in libertie. By doing whereof, the state should be at his will settled without tumult or injury to anie. Nicholo gave credit to the counsell of his brother, and in these vaine imaginations consumed the time of his office, till by the chiefe of the conspirators his friends, he was suffered to sincke: as they that would not for envie, that the government should be with the authoritie of Nicholo renued, and hoping ever they might in time, under some other Gonfaloniere worke the same effect. The end of the magistracie of Nicholo come, and many things by him begun, but nothing ended, he yeelded up his authoritie with more dishonour, then with honour, he had entered the same. This matter made the faction of Piero glad, and confirmed his friendes in the hope they had of his good successe. And those that before stood neutrall, joyned with Piero, and matters being thus in a readinesse, for diverse months without other tumult, they temporized. Notwithstanding the part of Piero stil encreased in strength, wherof the enemies tooke knowledge and joyned themselves together, to performe that by force, which by meane of the Magistrates they might easily have done before; and so concluded to kill Piero lying sicke at Careggi: for which purpose, they sent to the Marquesse of Farrara, to come unto the Citie with his forces, and Piero being slaine, they determined to march armed into the Market place, and cause the Senate to settle the government according to their will. For albeit all the Citizens were not their friends, yet they that were their enemies would for feare give place. Diotisalvi (the

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rather to cloake his intent) oftentimes visited Piero, and reasoned with him of the uniting of the Citie. All these practises had bene revealed to Piero, and Domenico Martegli also gave him intelligence, that Francesco Neroni, brother to Diotisalvi, had perswaded him, to be of his conspiracie: alleaging the victorie was certain, and assured. Thereupon Piero determined to be the first that should take armes, and fained an occasion uppon the practises of his enemies, with the Marquesse of Farrara. He pretended therefore to have received a Letter from Giovanni Bentivogli, Prince in Bologna, whereby he was advertised, that the Marquesse of Farrara was with his forces marched to the River of Albo, and (as was commonly thought) intended to come to Florence. Upon these advertisements Piero tooke armes, and with a great multitude of men armed, came to Florence, where all others that followed him armed themselves. The contrary partie did the like: but Piero his followers were the better prepared, because the others had not so great warning therof.

Diotisalvi dwelling neare unto Piero, thought not himselfe assured at home, but sometimes he went to the Pallace, to perswade the Senate to cause Piero to laie downe his armes, and sometimes he resorted to Lucca, to intreate him to stand firme to his faction. But of all others, Nicholo Soderini shewed himself of most courage; for he presently tooke arms, and being followed of all the common people of his quarter, went unto the house of Lucca, desiring him to mount on horsebacke, and come to the Market place in favour of the Senate, which favoured them, and therefore might hope of victorie certaine. But if he remained in his house, hee should be either by the armed men oppressed, or by those that were disarmed shamefully deceived. Or if he should after repent that he did not take armes, that repentance were too late. But if he wold with the warre oppresse Piero, he might easily do it: and after if he liked to make peace, it was better for him to give, then to receive the conditions therof. These words moved not Lucca, having already settled his mind, and promised to Piero new alliances, and new conditions. For he had already married unto Giovanni Tornabuoni, one of his neeces, and therefore

Perswasions
of Nicholo
Soderini
against the
Medici.

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perswaded Nicholo to laie downe armes, and returne to his house. For it ought to suffice him, that the Cittie should be governed by the Magistrates, and it would come to passe, that everie man would laie downe armes: and the Senators being the stronger partie, should be Judge of the controversie. Nicholo then seeing he could not otherwise perswade him, returned home. But first said unto Lucca, I cannot alone worke the well doing of our Citie, but I alone can prognosticate the evil whereinto it is falling. This resolution you have made, will breed losse of libertie to our country, your deprivation of government and wealth, and my banishment. The Senate in this tumult shut up the Pallace, and the Magistrates kept themselves therin, not seeming to favour any part. The Citizens (and chiefly those who had followed Lucca) seeing Piero armed, and his adversaries disarmed, began to devise, not how to offend Piero, but how to become his frends. Whereupon the chief citizens and leaders of the factions, went to the Pallace, and in the presence of the Senate, debated many things touching the state of the Cittie, and pacification thereof. And for that, Piero by reason of his infirmitie could not come thither, they determined by consent to go all unto him, (Nicholo Soderini except) who having first recommended his children and familie to Tomaso, went to his owne house in the country, aspecting there the event of these matters, accounting himselfe unhappie, and for his countrey infortunate.

The other Cittizens being come to the presence of Piero, one of them appointed to speake, complained of the tumults in the Cittie, declaring that they, who first tooke armes were most too blame: they not knowing what Piero, (who indeed did first take armes) would doo. They were come therefore to understand what was his intent, which (being for good of the Cittie) they would follow the same. Whereunto Piero answered, that hee who taketh armes first, is not ever the cause of disorder, but he that giveth first occasion: and if they would consider what their behaviours had bene towards him, they should marvaile lesse at that he had done for his own safetie. For therby they should see, that their assemblies in the night, their subscriptions, and their practises to take from him his government and life, were the occasions

The speech of
the Citizens
to Piero di
Medici.

The answer
of Piero.

THE FLORENTINE HISTORIE

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why he tooke armes: which not used but in the defence of his owne house, and not the offence of them, sufficiently proved his intent was to defend himselfe, and not to harme others. Neither would he any thing, or desired more then his own securitie and quiet, nor had given cause, that they shuld think he sought for other. For the authoritie of Balia discontinued, he never laboured by extraordinarie meane to revive it; and was well content that the Magistrates should govern the citie if they so pleased: assuring them, that Cosimo and his children could live in Florence honorably both with and without the Balia; and that the yeare 58 the same had bene, not by his house, but by them renewed; and if now they wold not have it more, he should also be so contented. But this sufficed not for them: for he found that his adversaries beleevved, they could not dwell in Florence, if he also there dwelled. A thing which he never thought that the friends of his father and him wold feare to live in Florence with him, having ever born himselfe among them, as a quiet and peaceable man. Then (turning his speech to Diotisalvi and his brethren there present) he reprovved them with words of much gravitie and offence: putting them in mind what benifits they had received of Cosimo, how much he had trusted them, and how unthankfully they had used him. Which words wrought such effect in some that were present, that if Piero had not staied them, they sodenly wold have striken Diotisalvi. In conclusion, Piero said he wold maintein every thing, that they and the Senat had determined. And that he desired nothing, but to live quiet and assured. After this speech was ended, many matters were commoned of, yet nothing don: but in general was concluded, that it was necessary to reunite the citie and reform the state.

At that time Barnardo Lotti was Gonfaloniere d'Giustitia, a man not trusted by Piero, wherefore thought not good to attempt any thing during his Magistracy: but the end of his authority drawing neare, election was made by the Senators of a Gonfaloniere to sit in September and October 1466. And they elected Roberto Lioni: who was no sooner in office, (all other thinges beeing prepared) but hee assembled the people in the Market place, and made a new Balia, all

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of the faction of Piero; which shortly created the Magistrates, according to the will of the new government, which terrified the heads of the enemies, and Agnolo Acciaivoli fled to Naples, Diotisalvi Neroni, and Nicholo Soderini to Venice, and Lucca Pitti remained in Florence: trusting to the promises of Piero, and the new alliance with his house. All the fugitives were proclaimed Rebels, and all the familie of Neroni dispersed. Also Giovanni Neroni then Bishop of Florence, to avoide a worse mischiefe, voluntarily confined himselfe to Rome. Many other likewise banished themselves to divers places, neither did this suffice: but a publike procession was ordeined to give God thanks for the preservation, and uniting the state. In the solemnization wherof, some citizens were apprehended and tormented. Afterwards part of them put to death, and the rest confined.

In this variation of fortune, there was nothing so notable, as the example of Lucca Pitti: who sodeinly saw the difference of victorie, and losse of honor, and dishonor. For his house, whereunto was wont be great repaire, became unfrequented; himself that had bin accustomed to passe the streets folowed with many friends and kinsfolks, could neither be accompanied, nor scarcely saluted: because some of them had lost their offices, some their goods, and al the rest threatned. His stately houses in building, were by the workmen abandoned. Those that were wont to present him, did now offer him injury and despite. Some who had given him presents of great value, did now demand them again as things lent. Others that were wont with praises to extoll him to the skies, did as a person ungratefull and violent, blame him. So that overlately he repented his not giving credit to Nicholo Soderini, and that he did not with sword in hand rather die honourably, then among his victorious enemies, live dishonored. These that were banished, sought by sundrie meanes to recover the Citie, they had lost. Yet Agnolo Acciaivoli being at Naples, before hee attempted any thing, thought good to feele the disposition of Piero, and what hope remained of reconciliation: writing unto him, as followeth. I smile to see, what sports fortune doth make her self, and how at her pleasure she frameth of foes friends, and of friends foes. You can remember that

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The enemies
of the Medici
vanquished.

The fall of
Lucca Pitti.

The letter
of Agnolo
Acciaivoli,
to Piero di
Medici.

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at the banishment of your father (esteeming more his injury then mine own danger) I lost my country, and was like to have also lost my life. Neither (in al his time) did I ever omit, to honor and favour your house, nor after his death have had any intent to offend you. True it is, that your own unhealthie disposition, and the tender yeares of your children, brought me into such feare, as I thought it behoved me to take order, that after your death, our countrey should not be ruined. For which consideration I have done divers things, not against you, but for the good of my country. Wherein, if I have committed error, the same ought be, for my good intent, and passed service, pardoned. Neither can I beleeve other, but that (in respect of ancient love to your house) I shal at this occasion find mercy, and my manifold merits, shal not be, by one onely fault cancelled.

The answer
of Piero.

Piero having perused this letter, aunswered thus. Your laughing there you are, is the occasion that I weep not here where I am: for if you had laughed at Florence, I should have wept at Naples. I denie not your well deserving of my father, sith your self wil confesse to have tasted his liberalitie: and by how much that deedes be esteemed above words, by so much your obligation is more then ours. You then recompenced for your good, may not marvell, though for your evil, you receive deserved punishment. Let not the love of your country excuse you: sith there is no man beleeveth, that this citie hath bin lesse loved and profitted by the Medici, then the Acciaivoli. I do therefore wish you with dishonor to remain there, sith here in honor you knew not how to lead your life. Agnolo thus despairing of pardon, went to Rome, and there conferred with the Archbishop, and other banished men, of the mean wherby they might take reputation from the house of Medici: which Piero with difficultie (notwithstanding the aide of his friendes) could prevent. Diotisalvi and Nicholo Soderini, likewise practised to make the Senate of Venice enemie to their countrey: thinking thereby, that if with anie new warre the Florentines were assailed, the government being new and hated, they should not be able to defend themselves.

In those daies Giovan Francesco the sonne of Palla Strozzi lived in Farrara, and had bene together with his father,

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banished in the alteration of the state, the yeare 34. This Giovanni had great credit, and was holden amongst other merchants a man of great riches. The newe Rebelles declared unto him, the great facilitie they found to recover their countrey, if the Venetians would take the enterprise in hand: which he thought they would be easily perswaded unto, if part of their charges might be borne. Giovan Francesco, who desired to revenge himselfe of the injuries received, easily gave credite to their counsaile: and promised with all his wealth, to furnish the enterprise. Then went they all together unto the Duke, complaining of the exile whereinto they saide themselves were fallen, not for anie other fault, but because they desired that their countrey might be governed with the lawes thereof: and that the Magistrates and not a fewe others should be honoured. For Piero de Medici with others his followers, accustomed to live tyrannically, had by deceit taken armes, and by deceit caused them to disarm themselves, and afterwards by deceit expelled them out of their Citie. Neither were they so content, but they would also therein pretend devotion to God, and by that colour oppresse others. For at the assemblie of the Citizens, and at publike and sacred ceremonies (to the intent God should be partaker of their treasons) they apprehended, imprisoned, and slewe manie Cittizens: which was an example of great impietie and wickednesse. For revenge wherof, they knew not whither to resort with more hope, then to that Senate which having ever lived free, could not but take compassion of those, who had lost their liberties. Then they perswaded all men that loved libertie to detest tirants: and those that were godly, to abhorre impious people. Putting them in mind, that the house of Medici had taken from them, the dominion of Lombardy, at such time as Cosimo (without consent of the other citizens, and the Senate) favoured and aided Francesco. So that though they had no compassion of the Florentines, yet the revenge of the injuries done to the Venetians, ought to move them.

These last words moved all the Senat to determine that Bartolomeo Coglione their General, shuld assault the dominion of Florence. He with all speed possible assembled

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Complaint of
the banished
Florentines
to the Senate
of Venice.

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The Florentines assaulted by the Venetians and Marquisse of Farrara.

the army, and with him joyned Hercole Este, sent by Borso Marquisse of Farrara. They at the first entrie (the Florentines not being prepared) burnt the Towne of Davadola, and spoyled some other places in the countrey thereabout. But the Florentines (having driven out all the enemies to Piero) made league with Galiazzo Duke of Milan, and with the King Ferrando. Then they entertained Federigo Earle of Urbino, for their Generall; and founde themselves so friended, as they feared little the force of their enemies. For Ferrando sent thither Alfonso his eldest sonne, and Duke Galiazzo came in person: either of them leading a convenient number, and they altogether made head at Cast-racaro, a Castle belonging to the Florentines: builded at the foot of those Alpes, wherby men passe from Toscana to Romagna. In the meane time the enemies were retired towards Imola, and so between the one and the other army (according to the custome of those daies,) some light skirmishes happened, but no townes by either of them besieged, nor any disposition in either of them to fight with their enemy, but everie man remaining within his Tent, continued the wars with great cowardice. This maner of proceedings, greatly offended the Governors in Florence, finding themselves charged by a warre, wherein they spent much, and could hope for litle. And the Magistrates complained of those Cittizens who were made Commissaries in that enterprise. They answered, that Duke Galiazzo was occasion thereof, for hee having most authoritie and least experience, knewe not what was profitable, nor would not beleieve others of more skill: and that it was impossible, so long as hee remained in the armie, that anie thing should be done with honour and commoditie. Wherefore the Florentines saide unto the Duke, albeit for their profit it was best he should be personally in their aide, because the reputation of his presence was the fittest meane to terrifie the enemy; notwithstanding for that they esteemed more his safetie, then their state, or proper commoditie, they thought not fit he should remaine long from Milan, being newly come to his government, and having there diverse strong enemies to be suspected: so that, if any of them should practise against him, they might easily in his absence, do it. For which

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respects they perswaded him to returne home, and leave part of his forces for their defence. This counsell contented Galiazzo, and without further consideration, returned to Milan.

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The Florentine Capitaines disburthened of this let, to declare the same was the true occasion of their slow proceeding, drew so neare to the enemie, that they joyned battle: which continued one half day, neither partie yeelding to other. Notwithstanding there was not anie man therein slaine, but some horses hurt, and a fewe prisoners on either part taken. The winter now being come, and the season of the yeare no longer serving for the fielde, they retired to their lodgings. Bartolomeo went to Ravenna, the Florentines into Toscana: the Kings souldiers and the Dukes, resorted home to their maisters Countries. But so soone as this assault beganne to be forgotten, and no disorder made in Florence, as the Florentine Rebels promised, and the other souldiers wanting paie, were content to entreate of peace, which with small difficultie was concluded. The Rebels then despairing of all hope, to diverse places dispersed themselves. Diotisalvi went to Farrara, where he was by the Marquesse Borso, received, and relieved. Nicholo Soderini fledde to Ravenna, where living long uppon a poore pencion given him by the Venetians, in the ende there died. This Nicholo was accounted a man just and couragious, yet uncertaine and slowe of his resolution: which was the cause that the Gonfaloniere lost that opportunitie, which being out of office, hee would have taken, but could not. The peace concluded, the Citizens who remained in Florence with victorie, thinking themselves not assured, unlesse they did as well oppresse those they suspected, as their apparant enemies, perswaded Bardo Altoviti, then Gonfaloniere d'Giustitia, to remove more Cittizens from their offices, and to banish many others. Which thing greatly encreased the power of that faction, and terrified the contrarie part: which power they used without respect, and proceeded so much at their pleasure, as it seemed, that God and fortune had consented to give that Cittie into their hands. Of which doings, Piero knew little, and that litle, he could not (being afflicted with sicknesse) remedie. For his diseases were so great, as

Peace be-
tweene the
Florentines
and Vene-
tians.

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he could not use any member save only his tongue: wherewith he exhorted them, and praied them to live civilly, and enjoy their native country, rather entire then broken. And for the comfort of the Citie, he determined with magnificence to celebrate the marriage of Lorenzo his sonne, who was already contracted to Clarice, discended of the house of Orsini: which marriage was performed with great pompe, as to so magnificent a feast appertained. For performance of these triumphs, divers daies were consumed in feasting, dancing, and publike shews. Wherunto was also joined (for more apparance of greatnes of the Medici) 2 marshal exercises; the one represented a battle fought in the field; the other, of a towne besieged: which things were devised in good order, and performed with so much vertue as might be.

Pope Sisto.

While these matters were doing in Florence, the rest of Italy lived quiet, but yet in great suspition of the Turke, who proceeded still in his enterprise against the Christians, and had wonne Negroponti, to the great infamie and dishonour of the Christian name. Then died Borso Marquesse of Farrara, to whom succeeded his brother Hercule. Even then died also Gismondo da Rimino, a perpetuall enemie to the Church: who left to inherit that state, Roberto his naturall sonne; afterwards accounted the most excellent Captaine of Italy. Then likewise died the Pope Pagolo: in whose place was created Sisto quarto, called before his creation Francesco da Savona, a man of base and vile condition: yet for his vertue made Generall of the order of S. Francesco, and afterwarde Cardinall. This Pope was the first that beganne to shewe of what great force the Papacie was, and that manie things before time accounted faults, might be by Papall authoritie, covered. This Pope had amongst many others in his house, two men, the one called Piero, and the other Gerolamo: who (as everie man thought) were his unlawfull sonnes: notwithstanding men called them by other names more honest. Piero being made a Frier, was preferred to the dignitie of Cardinall, and called Cardinall of S. Sisto. To Gerolamo he gave the Cittie of Furli, and tooke it by force from Antonio Ordelaffi, whose ancestors had bene long time Princes there. This ambitious

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manner of proceeding, made him the more esteemed by the Princes of Italy, and every of them sought which way to be accounted his friend. The Duke of Milan gave his daughter Catterina in marriage to Gerolamo, and with her the Citie of Imola, which by force he had taken from Taddeo Alidossi. Betwixt this Duke, and the King Ferrando, was also made new alliance. For Elizabella daughter to Alfonso, eldest sonne of the King, was married to Giovan Galiazzo, eldest sonne to the Duke. Thus Italy continued quiet, and the greatest care of the Princes was, one to honor the other: and with new alliances, friendships, and leagues, one to assure himselfe of the other. But notwithstanding so great a peace, Florence was by the Citizens thereof greatly afflicted. And Piero being troubled with ambition of the Citizens, and his own diseases, could not procure remedie: yet to discharge his conscience, and laie before them their misdemeanor, he called to his presence the chiefe Florentines, and said unto them as followeth.

I never thought that anie time could come, when the maner and behavior of friends would prove such, as to make me love and desire my enemies: or that I might wish victory to be converted to losse. Because I thought my selfe accompanied with men, whose appetites were confined to measure; and that it sufficed them to live in their country assured and honoured, and (that which is more) upon their enemies revenged. But now I know my self far deceived, as he that knew little the ambition of men, and least of all yours. For it contenteth you not to be Princes of so great a Cittie, and among you a few to have the honors, offices, and commodities, wherewith many Citizens were wont to be honored. It contented you not to have the goods of your enemies among you divided. It contenteth you not, to burthen others with publike charges, and you free from all paiments, to take the publike profit: but you wil also with every kind of injury molest them. You cease not to rob your neighbors; you feare not to sell justice; you flie civill judgement; you oppresse peaceable men, and advance those that be insolent. Neither do I beleeve that there is in all Italy, so many examples of violence and covetousnes, as be in this cittie. But sith it hath given you life, why do you

The Oration
of P. di Medici
to the Floren-
tines.

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Death of
Piero di
Medici.

Tomaso
Soderini.

take life from it? If it hath made you victorious, why should we destroy it? If it hath honored us, why have we disdained it? I promise you by that faith, which ought to be given and received among good men, that if you behave your selves so, as I shal repent me of my victory, I wil so do, as you shal also repent that you have abused it. Those citizens according to the time answered reasonably. Notwithstanding they continued still in their insolent doings. In so much as Piero sent secretly to Agnolo Acciaivoli (who came unto him at Cafaggivolo) and there they reasoned at length touching the estate of the Cittie. And surely had he not bene by death prevented, he would have called home all the banished men, to bridle the insolencie and oppression of those that lived in the Citie. But death suffered him not to performe so honest an intent: for diseases of bodie and trouble of minde, so greevously handled him, that hee died the fiftie and three yeare of his age. His vertue and bountie, could not be to his Countrey so well knowne, as they deserved: partly because his father lived (welneare as long) and partly, for that those fewe yeares hee overlived him, were in civill contentions and sicknesse consumed. This Piero was buried in the Church of S. Lorenzo, neare unto his father: and his funerall performed with honour and pompe, worthie so great a Cittizen. Of him there remained two sonnes, Lorenzo and Giuliano, of whome there was good hope, that they would proove men fit for the state: yet their youth was such as made all men doubt thereof.

Amongst other chiefe Cittizens in the government of Florence, there was one farre excelling the rest, called Tomaso Soderini: whose wisdom and authoritie, not onely to Florence, but also to all the Princes in Italy was knowne. Hee, after the death of Piero, was of all the Cittie revered: and manie Cittizens did dailie visite him, as chiefe man of the state. Also diverse Princes did write unto him. Neverthelesse being wise, and knowing what fortune followed him and his house, hee would never answere the Princes Letters: and perswaded the Citizens they should not resort to his house, but to the houses of the Medici. Also to shewe in deedes, that which by words was by him perswaded, hee assembled all the chiefe Gentlemen

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of everie family, at the Monastery of S. Antonio; whither hee procured that Lorenzo and Giuliano di Medici should come: and there after a long and grave Oration by him made, they disputed the estate both of that Cittie, of all Italy, and of the humours of the Princes. Therein concluding, that to continue Florence united in peace, assured from division within, and from warre without, it behooved them to honor those two yoong men, and mainteine the reputation of their house: Because men do not repine to do such things as they have bene accustomed unto, but new houses, as they are easily honored, so are they quickly abandoned. For it hath bene ever more easie to maintaine that reputation, where length of time hath extinguished envy, then to raise a new estimation, which by many occasions may be oppressed. After him spake Lorenzo, who notwithstanding his youth, uttered words with so great gravitie and modestie, as gave every man hope he would become such a one, as indeed afterwards he proved. And before they departed that place, the Citizens praied the brethren, to receive them as children, they offering to honor them as fathers. This conclusion set downe, Giuliano and Lorenzo were honoured as Princes of the Citie, and those that were of counsell with Tomaso, did not intermeddle. Thus the Florentines lived both within and without so peaceably, as nothing disturbed the Common quiet, till a trouble not looked for arose, which did prognosticate future mischiefe.

Giuliano and
Lorenzo di
Medici.

Among other families (which Lucca Pitti ruined) was that of Nardi. For Salvestro and his brethren being heads of that house, were first sent into exile, and after by the warre which Bartolomeo Coglione moved, made Rebels. Of these Barnardo brother of Salvestro, was a yoong man of great spirit and courage. Hee being poore could not endure banishment: and finding that the peace made had not provided for his returne, determined to make proofe of somewhat, whereby might grow occasion of warre. For many times of a small beginning, great effects doe followe. Because men bee more willing to prosecute, then beginne anie enterprise. This Barnardo had much acquaintance in Prato, and much more in the Countrey about Pistoia: chiefly with the house of Palandra: who albeit they were but

Conspiracy of
the Nardi.

THE FLORENTINE HISTORIE

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countrey people, yet was their number great, and the men (according to the manner of that countrey) practised in armes, and much used to bloud. He knew likewise they lived discontented, and by reason that some of their enemies were Magistrates in Florence, they had bene evill handled. He knew moreover the humor of the Pratesi, who accounted themselves proudly and hardly governed, and had particuler knowledge of the evill disposition of some towards the State. All which things brought him in hope to kindle fire in Toscana, by making Prato to rebell, whereto so many would put hands, as they that would quench it, should not be able. Then he imparted this matter to Diotisalvi Neroni, and asked of him, what aide might be by his meanes procured among the Princes, if he should happen to surprize Prato. Diotisalvi thought the enterprize dangerous, and as impossible to take effect: notwithstanding, considering he might thereby with the perill of others make new proofe of fortune, perswaded him to proceed, and promised to bring him assured aide from Bologna, and Farrara, so that he were able to defend Prato at the least fiftene dayes. Barnardo then encouraged with this promise, and conceiving great hope of happie proceeding, went to Prato, and there communicating the matter to diverse, found them verie willing. The like disposition he perceived in the familie of Palandra, and having agreed togethers of the time and manner of the enterprize, Barnardo imparted all to Diotisalvi.

At that time, was Cesare Petrucci, Podesta of Prato, for the Florentines. The custome was, that the Podesta should have the keies of the towne brought unto him: And whensoever any of the towne (chiefely in times of no suspition) desired to goe out or come in by night, that favour was graunted. Barnardo knowing this custome, being accompanied with those of the house of Palandra, and 100 others armed men, in the morning when the gate towards Pistoia should open, presented himselfe: and those whome he had made privie within, did likewise arme. One of them went to the Podesta, saying, a friend of his desired to come into the towne. The Podesta not doubting any such accident, sent with him a servant of his to carrie the keies: from whome, (being a little on the way) the keies

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were taken, the gates opened, and Barnardo with his followers came in. Then they divided themselves in two parts. The one led by Salvestro of Prato, tooke possession of the Cittadell. The other following Barnardo, surprized the Pallace, and committed the Podesta with all his familie, to the custodie of one of his companie. Which done, they walked the streets, proclaiming the name of libertie. By that time it was day, and many people by meane of the noise, came to the market place, where understanding that the Cittadell and Pallace were taken, the Governor also with his familie imprisoned, they mervailed much. The eight Cittizens (chiefe Officers of the towne) assembled in their Pallace, to consult what was to be done. But Barnardo and his men, having awhile walked the towne, and finding himselfe not well followed, hearing where the eight were, went unto them, declaring that the occasion of his enterprise was to deliver them and their countrey from bondage: and that they should gaine great glorie to take armes, and accompanie him in that glorious action, whereby they should win perpetuall quiet, and eternall fame. He also laid before them the memorie of their auncient libertie, comparing it with their present condition. He likewise told them what aide they should be assured to have of others, if they would but for a fewe daies defend themselves from the Florentine forces. He informed them moreover, that he had intelligence in Florence, whereby he was advertised that Cittie would wholie follow him. The eight not moved with these perswasions, answered, that they knew not whether Florence lived in libertie or bondage, as a thing they desired not to understand. But well they knew their owne desire was not to enjoy other libertie, then to obey those Magistrates that governed in Florence: of whome, they had not received any such injurie, as might move to take armes against them. Wherefore they perswaded him to restore the Podesta to his libertie, send his men out of the towne, and save himselfe speedily from that danger, whereinto he was unadvisedly fallen.

These speeches dismaied not Barnardo, for he intended to see if feare might move the Pratesi, to that which with in-treaty could not. Therefore to terrifie the Cittizens, and

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determining to put the Podesta to death, he tooke him out of prison, and commanded him to be hanged at the Pallace window. The Podesta being brought to the window, the halter upon his neck, and seeing Barnardo to sollicit his death, turned himselfe towards him, and said. Barnardo, thou putttest me to death, hoping the rather to be followed of the Pratesi, but the contrarie will come to passe. For the reverence which this people doth beare to the Governors sent by the Florentines is so great, that so soone as they shall see this injurie done to me, they will hate thee, so much, as the same will proove thy ruine: wherefore not my death, but my life, may be the occasion of thy victorie. For if I commaund them that which thou wouldst have done, they will more willinglie obey me, then thee. Thus I following thy direction, thou mayst become owner of thy desire. This counsell seemed to Barnardo (being a man irresolute) verie reasonable, and therefore willed him at a window to commaund the people to yeeld their obedience to Barnardo. Which being done, the Podesta was lead back to prison. By this time, the weakenesse of the conspirators was discovered, and many Florentines inhabiting that towne, were assembled: among whome, was Georgio Ginori, a Knight of Jerusalem. He being the first that tooke armes against the Rebels, assaulted Barnardo in the streets, sometimes intreating, and sometimes threatning the people to follow him, till at length by Georgio, and many others (who tooke armes) Barnardo was hurt and taken. Which done, it was no hard matter to deliver the Podesta, and vanquish the rest. For they being fewe, and divided into sundrie parts of the towne, were welneare all taken or slaine.

The enter-
prise of
Barnardo
defeated.

In the meane space, the fame of this accident was come to Florence, and reported to be much greater then it was. For the advertisements were, that Prato was surprized, the Podesta with his household put to death, Pistoia in armes, and many of the Cittizens of the conspiracie, in so much as many Cittizens sodeinly came to the Pallace to consult with the Senate. At that time, Roberto Sanseverino happened to be in Florence, who being a man of great experience in warre, was sent with certaine forces to Prato,

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commaunded, that he should approach the towne, and send back particuler advertisements in what state the same stood; and do there, what by his wisdom should be thought good. Roberto marching on his way, and passing the Castle of Campi, a messenger came unto him from Cesare Petrucci, declaring, that Barnardo was taken, his companions fled, or slaine, and all the tumult pacified. Whereupon Roberto returned to Florence, and shortly after Barnardo being brought thither a prisoner, and demanded why he tooke that enterprise in hand, answered, bicause he determined rather to die in Florence, then live in exile: and thought good to accompanie his death with some memorable action. This tumult begun and ended (as it were in one instant) the Cittizens of Florence returned to their wonted order of life, thinking to enjoy that state without suspition, which they had lately established, and settled: whereof insued those inconveniences, which many times be ingendred by peace, for the youth became more prodigall then they were wont, spending their money in apparrell, feasting, and other like vanities, and (being idle) consumed their substance in play, and women. Their whole studie was to be bravely apparrelled, and to seeme wittie, or subtile: for he that could most cunninglie mock and deride others, was holden the wisest and most esteemed. These and such like disorders, were by the Courtiers of Milan increased. For at that time, thither came the Duke, with his wife, and Court, to performe (as he said) a certaine vowe, and was there received with pompe, meete for so great a Prince, and friend to the Florentines. In that time also, was seene a thing in Florence, never before used, which was, that the Courtiers of Milan, notwithstanding the time of Lent, did without respect of the Ecclesiasticall order, eate almost none other meate, but flesh. Albeit the Duke found the Cittie of Florence full of courtlie delicacie, and customes contrarie to all well ordered civilitie, yet his comming increased the same. Wherefore the good Cittizens thought fit and necessarie to bridle the excesse with new lawes, for apparrell, for funerals, and feastings.

The Duke of
Milan in
Florence.

In the midst of this great peace, there happened in

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Tumults in
Volterra.

Toscana a new and unlooked for tumult. In the Province of Volterra, certaine Cittizens happened to finde a Mine of Allum, whereof, knowing the commoditie, to be helped with money, and defended with authoritie, they joyned with them some Cittizens of Florence, making them partakers of such profit as should thereof arise. This matter at the beginning (as it happeneth for the most part in all new actions) was by the people of Volterra little esteemed. But the commoditie thereof afterwards knowne, they desired too late, and without effect, that which at the first they might easilie have obtained. Then began they to propound the matter in their counsels, saying, it was not convenient that a commoditie found in the common lands, should be converted to a private use. Thereupon, they sent unto Florence certaine Embassadors. The cause was committed to a few Cittizens, who either bicause they were corrupted, or for that they so thought best, gave sentence, that the request of the people of Volterra was not reasonable, bicause they desired to deprive the Cittizens of their labour and industrie, and therefore judged, that those Alums appertained to private men, and not to the Citie. Yet was it convenient, that those private persons should give yearly unto the people certaine money, in signe they acknowledged them for superiors. This answer did nothing diminish, but augment the tumults and displeasures in Volterra, so that nothing was spoken of so much in their counsels, and in everie other place in the Cittie, as the request of the multitude, which was, to recover that which they thought lost. The private men on the other side, still laboured to continue that which they had gotten, and had bene confirmed by judgement of the Florentines. This matter remained so long in disputation, that one Cittizen, a man of estimation in that Cittie, called Pecorino, with diverse others that tooke part with him, was slaine, their houses spoiled and burnt. In that furie also, the Rettori for the Florentines with difficultie escaped. This first tumult being passed, they determined in all haste to send Embassadors to Florence, who informed the Senators, that if they would observe their auncient conditions, they would also continue in their auncient obedience. The

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answere of these messengers was long disputed. Tomaso Soderini was of opinion, that it behoved to receive the Volterani with what condition so ever, thinking the time served not, to kindle a fire so neare hand, that might burne their owne house : for he feared the disposition of the Pope, the power of the King, and mistrusted the Venetians friendship and the Dukes, not knowing what fidelitie was in the one, nor what vertue in the other, alleaging that proverb which faith, Better a leane peace, then a fat victorie. Of a contrarie minde was Lorenzo de Medici, thinking he had now occasion to make shew of his wisdom and counsell, and the rather being thereto perswaded by those that envied the authoritie of Tomaso. And therefore determined by armes to punish the insolencie of the Volterani, affirming, that if they were not corrected, as a memorable example, all others (upon everie light occasion) without reverence or respect, would dare to do the like. This resolution made, the Volterani were answered, that they could not require the keeping of those conditions, which they themselves had broken, and therefore either they should referre themselves to the discretion of the Senate, or presently looke for warre. The Volterani returned with this answeare, prepared for the defence of their towne, and sent to all Princes of Italy for aide, but were aided by fewe : for onely the Sanesi, and the Lord of Piombino did promise to helpe them.

The Florentines on the other side, judging that the victorie would be gotten by making of speed, assembled tenne thousand footemen, and two thousand horse, whome under the conduct of Federigo, Lord of Urbino, they sent into the countrey of Volterra : all which, they easily possessed. Then they brought their Camp before the Cittie, which being builded upon an hill, could not be assaulted, but on that side, where the Church of S. Alisandro standeth. The Volterani had for their defence entertained a thousand souldiers, or thereabouts, who seeing how bravely the Florentines assailed them, fearing they could not defend the towne, were in the service slowe, but in doing injurie to the Volterani readie ynough : so that those poore Cittizens were by the enemies assaulted without, and by

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Volterra
sacked.

friends oppressed within. In so much as (dispairing to be saved) thought good to make peace, and for want of better meane, yeelded themselves to the Florentines Commissaries: who caused them to open the gates, and the greater part of the armie being entred, they went unto the Pallace where the Priori were, whome they commanded to returne to their houses, and by the way, one of them was by a souldier reviled and robbed. Of this beginning (for men be more readie to evill then good) grew the destruction and sack of this Cittie, which continued one whole day. The houses were robbed, and the people spoiled, neither did the women and Churches escape, but all souldiers, aswell they that had cowardlie defended the towne, as the others that fought, were partakers of the spoiles. The newes of this victorie, was with much rejoycing received at Florence, for the same was wholie the enterprise of Lorenzo, who thereby gained great reputation. And thereupon one of his dearest friends reprooved Tomaso Soderini for his counsell, saying unto him, What say you now, that Volterra is taken? To whome, Tomaso answered, me thinks it is lost: for if you had taken it by composition, you might have made profit and suretie thereof; but having it by force, in time of warre it will weaken and trouble you, and in time of peace, charge and hinder you.

Castello
besieged by
Pope Sisto.

In those dayes, the Pope desiring to hold in obedience the townes belonging to the Church, caused Spoleto to be sacked: which by meane of inward faction, had rebelled. After, for the like offence, he besieged the Cittie of Castello. In that towne, Nicholo Vitelli was Prince. He being in great friendship with Lorenzo de Medici, refused not in that necessitie to aide him: yet was that aide not sufficient to defend Nicholo, but ynough to sowe the first seeds of enimitie betwixt Sisto and the Medici, which afterwards brought forth fruite of much mischief: and the same should quickly have shewed it selfe, had not the death of Frier Piero, Cardinall of Sisto, happened. For this Cardinall, having travelled about all Italy, went also to Venice and Milan (pretending to honor the marriage of Hercole, Marquesse of Farrara) to practise with the Princes, and sound their disposition towards the Florentines. But

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being returned to Rome, he died : not without suspition to have bene poisoned by the Venetians, who feared the greatness of Sisto, so long as he might be counselled and encouraged by Frier Piero. For albeit nature had made this Frier of base blood, and was also bred up basely in a Monasterie, yet so soone as he had aspired to be Cardinall, there appeared in him so great pride and ambition, as might not onely become a Cardinall, but also seeme fit ynough for any Pope. For he feared not to make a feast in Rome with so great charge, as seemed superfluous for any King: for therein he spent more then twentie thousand Florins. Pope Sisto bereft of this agent, prosecuted his enterprises more coldly. Notwithstanding, the league being renewed betweene the Florentines, the Duke, and Venetians, and place left for Pope Sisto, and the King, who made an other contract; therein also, leaving places for other Princes to enter, if they would. By this meane, Italy became divided in two factions: for daily betwixt these two leagues, there grew displeasure, as it happened, touching the Ile of Cipres, which the King Ferrando challenged, and the Venetians usurped, whereupon, the Pope and the King became more willing one of the others friendship.

Italy divided
into factions.

In those daies, Federigo Prince of Urbino, was accounted the most excellent Captaine of Italy, and had long served for the Florentines. The King and the Pope (to the end our league should not have the service of such a leader) determined to win the good will of Federigo. To that end both the Pope and the King desired him to come unto Naples. Federigo performed their desire, to the great admiration and displeasure of the Florentines, beleeving it would become of him, as it did to Giacopo Piccinino. Yet the contrarie came to passe: for Federigo returned from Naples and Romagna with great honor, and still Generall for their league. Neverthelesse, the King and Pope ceased not, to sound the disposition of the Lords in Romagna, and the Sanesi, hoping to make them his friends, and by their meanes, be able to offend the Florentines, whome they perceived by all convenient waies armed, to incounter their ambition: and having lost Federigo of Urbino, they enter-

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Troubles in Toscana.

teined Roberto of Rimini. They also renewed the league with the Perugini, and drew thereunto the Lord of Faenza. The Pope and King alleaged, that their displeasure to the Florentines was, bicause they sought to drawe the Venetians from them: and the Pope thought that the Church could not mainteine the reputation thereof, nor the Earle Girolamo his state in Romagna, if the Florentines and Venetians were united. On the other side, the Florentines feared they would be enemies to the Venetians, not to win their friendship, but the rather thereby to injurie them: so as Italy lived two yeares in these suspitions, and diversities of humors, before any tumults were moved. But the first (although but small) happened in Toscana.

Braccio of Perugia, a man (as hath heretofore bene often said) of great reputation in the warre, had two sonnes, called Oddo, and Carlo. This Carlo was a child, and Oddo was by the inhabitants of the Vale of Lamona slaine, as hath bene declared. Carlo being attained to age, and able for armes, was for the memorie of his father, and the good hope of himselfe entertained by the Venetians, and made among others, a leader for that state. The time of his conduct ended, he refused to serve longer, determining to make prooffe, if with his owne fame, and the reputation of his father, he could recover his owne countrey of Perugia. Where to the Venetians easily consented, as they that were wont in alterations to increase their dominion. Carlo then came into Toscana, and found the enterprise of Perugia hard, by reason that the Perugini were in league with the Florentines, yet desirous that this motion might take some effect worthie memorie, he assaulted the Sanesi, alleaging they were debtors of money, due to his father, for service done to that state, whereof he required satisfaction: and upon that demaund, assaulted them with so great furie, as that dominion became disordered. The Cittizens of Siena, seeing themselves so furiously charged (being readie to suspect the worst of the Florentines) thought all was done by their consent. They also complained much to the Pope and the King; and sent Embassadors unto Florence, to expostulate the injurie, and covertlie alleaged, that without

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assistance, Carlo could not with so great securitie have offended them. The Florentines excused themselves, promising in what sort the Embassadors thought good, they would commaund Carlo, no more to offend the Sanesi. Whereof Carlo complained, that they by not aiding him, should lose a great conquest, and he misse the meane, to aspire to much glorie. For in short space he promised them possession of that Cittie, where he found so great cowardice and disorder, as with possibilitie it could not be defended. Then Carlo departed from thence, and returned to his old enterテインement of the Venetians. Albeit the Sanesi were by the Florentines delivered from so great danger, yet remained they towards them offended, and judged their obligacion not to be any thing, having saved them from an evill, whereof they had bene the occasion. During that these matters betwixt the King and Pope were handled in Toscana, there happened in Lombardy an accident of much more moment, and did prognosticate greater evils.

There was in Milan a Scholemaister, called Cola of Mantova, a man well learned, but ambitious, and such a one, as instructed the chiefe children of the Cittie. This Cola, either because he hated the life and manners of the Duke, or for some other occasion, in all his speeches seemed to disdain those men that lived under an evill prince, calling others glorious and happie, whome nature and fortune graunted to be borne, and live in common-weales. Declaring how all famous men had bene brought up in common-weales, and not under Princes. For the common-weales (said he) did nourish vertuous men, but Princes did oppresse them: for the one doth cherish vertue, the other doth feare it. The yong men with whome he had gained most familiaritie, were Giovandrea Lampugnano, Carlo Visconti, and Girolamo Olgeato, with them he oftentimes reasoned of the evill nature of the Duke, and their owne misfortune, being governed under such a one: and at length hee began to be in so great confidence of these yong men, that hee brought them to sweare, that so soone as they attained to mans estate, they would deliver their countrey from the tirannie of that Prince. These youths perswaded

Conspiracie
against the
Duke of
Milan.

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to performe what they had promised, waying therewith all the Dukes behaviour, and the particuler injuries he had done, did hasten their intent to put the matter in execution. The Duke Galiazzo was in his disposition lascivious and cruell, which two things had made him odious: for it sufficed him not to entice Ladies to dishonor, but he would also take pleasure in publishing the same. Neither was he content to put men to death, but he would also execute them with some cruell manner of torment. He was moreover slandered, or truely suspected, to have murthered his owne mother: for hee perswading himselfe not to be Prince (she being present) found meanes to remove her to Cremona, which was the place of her dowrie, and in that journey she became sodeinly sick, and died: and many men judged her sonne was cause of her death. This Duke, had in matter touching women, dishonored Carlo, and Gerolamo, and denied Giovandrea to have the possession of the Abbey of Miramondo, being graunted unto him of the Pope, upon resignation of a kinsman of his. These private injuries increased the desire of the yong men, by revenge to deliver their cuntry of so great mischiefes: hoping, that if they might murther the Duke, they should be not onely esteemed of the nobilitie, but also of the people followed. Thus determined of the enterprise, they oftentimes met together, and by reason of their auncient familiaritie, no mervaille made of their meeting. Being togithers (to make their minds more prepared for that action) they alwaies talked thereof, and with the sheathes of daggers made for that purpose, one of them in the breast and belly strake the other. Then they devised of the time and place. In the Castle they thought it not fit to be performed. In hunting they feared it would prove incerteine and perilous. When the Duke walked in the streets for pleasure, they imagined it would be hard, and unlikely to be done. And at feasts, they doubted the places would not serve. Wherefore they resolved, at some publique pompe and triumph, where they were certaine of his being, to kill him, for thither they might under diverse coulours assemble their friends. They concluded also, that if any of them upon occasion were by the officers appre-

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hended, the rest should with their swords in the midst of his enemies sley him. This happened in the yeare 1476. The feast of Christmas then being at hand (at which time, on S. Stephen's day, the Duke was wont with great pomp to visit the Church of that holie Martir) they resolved that place and time would best serve for the execution of their intent.

The morning of S. Stephens day being come, they caused certaine of their most assured friends and servants to arme themselves, saying, they would go to aide Giovandrea, who contrarie to the mind of some his evill willers, would make a conduct for water in a certaine ground of his. They being thus armed, went to the Church, pretending, that they would before their departure, take leave of the Prince. They procured also diverse other their friends and kinsfolks, for sundrie considerations to come thither, hoping, that the deed being done, every one would follow them to performe the rest of the enterprise. And their intent was, (the Duke being slaine) to joyne with those armed, and goe to that place of the Cittie, where they might more easily raise the people, and perswade them to arme themselves against the Duchesse, and Princes of the State; supposing the people by meanes of the famine wherewith they were then grieved, would easily favour the enterprise: and unto the people they determined to give leave to spoile the houses of Ceco Simonetta, Giovanni Botti, and Francesco Lucani, all Magistrates of the government, whereby they should be assured of them, and give the people libertie. This resolution was set downe, and the execution thereof firmly agreed upon in their minds. Giovandrea with the rest met earely in the Church, and there altogithers heard Masse; which being ended, Giovandrea turning towards the image of S. Ambrose, sayd, O Ambrose, Lord of our Cittie, thou knowest our intention, and the end wherefore we will adventure our selves to so many perils: Be favourable to this our enterprise, and by favouring of justice, shew how greatly injustice doth displease thee. To the Duke on the other side, before he came to the Church, many signes happened, to prognosticate his death at hand. For the day being come, he put on his privie armour (as everie other day

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for the most part he did) yet sodeinly before he went from his house, either bicause he thought it not sightly, or that it did hurt his bodie, he tooke it off. Then thought he to have heard Masse in the Castle, but his Chapleine was gone to S. Steffano. Then commaunded hee that the Bishop of Como should say the Masse, but he alleaged certaine reasonable lets, so the Duke was (as it were by necessitie) occasioned to goe to the Church. But first, he called for his two sonnes, Giovangaliazzo, and Hermes, whome he embraced, and kissed often, as though he had no power to depart from them: yet in the end, he determined to goe; and comming out of the Castle, betwixt the Embassadors of Farrara and Mantova, rode to the Temple.

The conspirators in the meane while, to give the lesse suspection, and keepe them from the cold, were retired into a chamber belonging to the chiefe Priest of the Church, their friend, and understanding that the Duke did come, they came from the chamber into the Church. Giovandrea and Girolamo placed themselves on the right hand of the Church doore, and Carlo on the left hand. Then those that went before the Duke, entered the Church doore, and after the Duke himselfe, invironed with a greate multitude of people, as it alwaies happeneth, in time of such a princelie pompe. The firste of the Conspirators that went towardes him, were Lampugnano, and Girolamo. They pretending to make place and roome for the Prince, came hard unto his person, and assaulted him with short and sharpe daggers, which they had hidden in their sleeves. Lampugnano gave him two woundes, the one in the bellie, the other in the throate. Girolamo likewise in the throate, and in the brest strake him. Carlo Visconti standing neare unto the doore, and the Duke past him, at such time as his companions gave the assault, could not hurt him before, but gave him two other woundes, one on the shoulder, the other in the back: and these sixe woundes were all so sodeinly and speedily given, that the Duke was fallen to the ground before any man knewe what the matter meant. Neither could he do, or say any thing that was knowne, but in falling, one onely time he cried, O Ladie helpe me. The

The Duke
murdered.

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Duke thus laid on the ground, the rumor grew great, many swords were drawne out, and (as it hapned in like cases unlooked for) some fled out of the Church, and some ranne thither, without any certaine knowledge, or occasion of the matter. But those who were next unto the Duke, seeing him slaine, and knowing the murtherers, pursued them. Of the conspirators, Giovandrea intending to get out of the Church, went amongst the women, who being many, and according to their custome set on the ground, was so troubled and staid with their garments, that he was by a Moore (one of the Dukes footmen) overtaken, and slaine. Carlo was likewise by those that were present, killed. But Girolamo Olgiato escaped out of the Church, seeing his companions slaine, and not knowing whither to flee, went home, where he could be neither by his father nor brothers received. But his mother onely, having compassion of her sonne, did recommend him to a Priest, an auncient friend of that house, who put him in Priestlike garments, and remooved him to his house, where he remained two daies, hoping that some tumult in Milan would arise, and thereby he might be saved. But that not comming to passe, and fearing to be found there, he assaied to flee disguised; yet being knowne, was brought before the Magistrates, and there he confessed all the order of the conspiracie. This Girolamo was twentie three yeares of age, and died with no lesse courage, then he had executed the enterprise. For being brought to his death, stript naked, and prepared for the hangman, who with his knife in hand, stood readie to cut him in pieces, he spake these Laten words, *Mors acerba, fama perpetua, stabit vetus memoria facti*. This enterprise was by these unhappie yoong men secretly practised, and resolutely executed. The cause of their destruction was, that they were not followed and defended of them, to whome they trusted. Let Princes therefore learne to make themselves so much honored and loved, as no man can hope to hurt them, and save himselfe. And let all private persons know, how vaine it is to thinke, that the multitude (notwithstanding it be discontented) will in their perils follow or accompanie them. This accident amazed all Italy, but much more trouble proceeded of other chances, that

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shortly after happened in Florence. For thereby the peace which had continued in Italy the space of twelve yeares, was broken, as in the Booke following shall be declared. Which Booke, as it beginneth with bloud and terror, so doth it end with sorrow and miserie.

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THE EIGHT BOOKE



THE beginning of this Booke, placed amidst two conspiracies, the one in Milan alreadie declared, the other happened in Florence, and to be spoken of; it may be thought fit, that (according to my custome) I should somewhat saie, touching the quallitie of conspiracies, and of what importance they are. Which willingly I would do, had I not in other places discoursed thereof, or that such a matter might be briefelie passed over. But seeing it requireth great consideration, and is alreadie spoken of, we will proceed, and tell how the Medici, having overcome all enemies, that openly opposed themselves, being desirous their house alone might have authoritie in the Cittie, it behoved them to oppresse all others that secretly practised against them. For so long as they contended against other families but with equall authoritie, the Cittizens envying their greatnesse, might openly and without feare affront them. Bicause, the Magistrates being free, neither partie before losse of victorie, had any occasion to feare it selfe. But after the victorie, in the yeare 66 the State became so much in the hand and power of the Medici, as all men discontented, were inforced, either patiently to abide the condition wherein they lived, or else by way of conspiracie, and secret practise, to amend their fortune. But sith conspiracies are with difficultie performed, for the most part, they procure the ruine of the conspirators, and the greatnes of him against whome they be conspired. So that, a Prince by conspiracie assaulted, if he be not therein slaine, as was the

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Duke of Milan (which seldome hapneth) becommeth thereby the stronger, and being before good, becommeth evill. Bicause conspiracies do give him occasion to feare, feare counsaileth him to seeke assurance, and in seeking assurance, he doth injure others, whereby he gaineth hatred, and many times procureth his own destruction. So as in conclusion, treasons do sodeinly overthrow those who attempt them, and trouble him many times against whome they be attempted.

Italy was (as hath bene before declared) divided into two factions, the Pope and the King on the one side, and the Venetians, the Duke, and Florentines on the other side. And albeit there was not betwixt them any warre moved, yet was there dailie occasion given thereof, and the Pope chiefelie in all his actions studied to offend the state of Florence. Philippo de Medici Archbishop of Pisa, then dying, the Pope, (contrarie to the will of the Senate of Florence) gave that Bishopprick to Francesco Salviati, whome hee knewe to bee enemie to the house of Medici. But the Senate denying to deliver possession thereof, there followed great displeasure betwixt the Pope and the Medici. Besides that, the Pope did great favours in Rome to the familie of Pazzi, and in everie acte, disfavoured the house of Medici. In those daies, the house of Pazzi lived above other the Florentine families, in most riches and glorie. The chiefe of them was called Giacopo, who for his riches and Nobilitie, was made Knight. He having no children but one onely daughter, had for heires diverse nephews, sonnes of Piero and Antonio his brethren. The chiefe of whom were Guglielmo, Francesco, Rinato, and Giovanni. After them, Andrea, Nicholo, and Galeotto. Cosimo de Medici seeing their riches and nobilitie, gave his neece Biancha in marriage to Guglielmo, hoping that alliance would make those houses more united, and remove all occasion of displeasures and suspitions, which many times hapned betwixt them. Notwithstanding (so incertaine and fallible are the expectations of men) the matter came otherwise to passe, for those that counselled Lorenzo, told him, it was perilous, and contrary to his authoritie, to suffer the Citizens to increase their riches and state: which was the cause that those degrees of

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betweene the
Pope and the
Medici.

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honor were not graunted to Giacopo and his nephews, which (as other Citizens thought) they deserved. Hereof grew the first displeasure of the Pazzi, and the first feare of the Medici. The increasing of the one, was cause that the other also increased: in so much as the Pazzi in all actions, whereat other Citizens did meete, were not to the Magistrates welcome. Also the officers of eight men, upon a like occasion (without such respect, as was wont to be borne towards the great Citizens) constrained Francesco de Pazzi being at Rome, to returne to Florence. Whereupon the Pazzi in all places with injurious words, and full of offence complained: which doings, caused others to suspect, and think themselves to be injured.

Giovanni de Pazzi, had married the daughter of Giovanni Barromei a man of great riches, which riches after his death for want of sonnes, should come unto her. Nevertheles, Carlo his nephew toke possession of part of those goods, and therby the matter being brought to triall and sute, an order was made, by vertue wherof, the wife of Giovanni de Pazzi was disinherited, and the possessions given to Carlo: which injurie, the Pazzi did altogither impute to the Medici. Of this matter, Giuliano de Medici did many times lament, and complaine to his brother Lorenzo, saying, he feared least they desiring too much, should lose all. But Lorenzo being full of youth and authoritie, would needs take all upon him, and make every man know, that all things were done by him. The Pazzi being noble and rich, could not indure so great injuries, but devised by what means they might procure revenge. The first that moved speech against the Medici, was Francesco. He being of more courage and life then the others, determined to get that which he wanted, or lose that which he had. And because the government of Florence was hatefull unto him, he lived for the most part in Rome, and there (according to the custome of Florentine Merchants) occupied great summes of money. Being also of famelier acquaintance with the Earle Girolamo, one of them often complained to the other of the Medici. In so much as after many consultations, they concluded, that to make the one of them assured of his lands, and the other of his Cittie, it was necessarie to alter the government of

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Florence, which they thought could not be done, without the death of Giuliano, and Lorenzo. They also supposed, that the Pope and the King, would easily thereto consent, if the facilitie of the enterprise were laid before them. They then thus minded, imparted all their intent to Francesco Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa, who being ambitious, and lately injured by the Medici, willinglie condescended. And examining among themselves what was to be done, they agreed (for the more speedie performing of the action) to drawe thereinto Giacompo de Pazzi, without whome, they thought nothing could be performed. It was then supposed good, that for this purpose Francesco Pazzi should goe to Florence, and the Archbishop and the Earle remaine at Rome, to sollicite the Pope when need required. Francesco being come to Giacompo, found him more respective, and hard to be perswaded, then they would have him, and advertising the same to Rome, it was thought fit to draw him with more authoritie. Whereupon the Archbishop and the Earle opened all the matter to Giovanbattista da Montesecco, one of the Popes Captaines. He being a man of warre well esteemed, was also beholding to the Pope and the King. Neverthelesse, he judged the matter hard, full of danger and difficulties, which the Archbishop laboured to remove, by telling him what aide the Pope and King would give to the enterprise. Also he alleaged, that the Citizens of Florence did hate the Medici, and the Salviati and Pazzi would help to kill them, which was the more easie to do, by reason they walked in the Cittie unaccompanied, and without suspect. Therefore if Giuliano and Lorenzo were dead, the State might easily be changed. All which reasons, Giovanbattista beleevved not, hearing many Florentines affirme the contrarie.

While these matters were in consideration, it happened Carlo of Faenza fell so sick, as everie man feared his death. It was then thought good to the Archbishop and the Earle, to take occasion to send Giovanbattista to Florence, and from thence to Romagna, under pretence to recover certaine Townes, which the Lord of Faenza had taken from them. The Earle therefore commaunded Giovanbattista to speake with Lorenzo, and in his name desire counsell how the

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matters of Romagna might be handled: after to deale with Francesco de Pazzi, and then they together, to perswade Giacopo di Pazzi to be of their mind. And bicause he should carrie with him the authoritie of the Pope, they procured him to speake with his holinesse, who offered to further the enterprise with all his power. Giovanbattista arrived at Florence, went unto Lorenzo, of whome he was curteously received, and in all his demaunds wisely and friendly counselled. Whereof Giovanbattista mervailed, finding him an other man, then he was reported to be: for he perceived him to be curteous, wise, and a friend to the Earle: notwithstanding he thought fit to talke with Francesco, but (he being gone to Lucca) communed with Giacopo, whome at the first he found farre from the matter, yet before they parted, with the authoritie of the Pope somewhat moved; and said to Giovanbattista, that he should goe into Romagna, and in the meane space Francesco would be come home: and then more particularly they would reason how all things should be handled. Giovanbattista went and returned, and still continued to enterteine Lorenzo with his dissimuled busines for the Earle: and after conferred with Giacopo and Francesco de Pazzi, with whom he perswaded so farre, that they consented to the enterprise. Then they reasoned of the manner how to performe it, and Giacopo thought it impossible, both the brethren being in Florence, and therfore thought best to tarry til Lorenzo went to Rome, which was thought he would, and then to execute the matter. Francesco liked well that Lorenzo should goe to Rome, but if he did not go thither, yet either at some wedding in the Church, or at the time of some sport, they might be both slaine. And touching forreine aide, he thought the Pope might assemble forces, pretending the enterprise of the Castle of Montone, having just occasion to take it from Carlo, bicause he had moved rebellion in the countries belonging to Siena and Perugia. Yet was nothing fully concluded, but that Francesco de Pazzi, and Giovanbattista should go to Rome, and there with the Earle and the Pope determine all things. This matter was againe practised in Rome, and in the end a resolution set downe (the enterprise of Montone being determined) that Giovan Francesco da Tolentino the Popes

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souldier, should goe to Romagna, and Lorenzo di Castello to his countrey, and either of them with their men be readie to do, whatsoever by the Archbishop Salviati, and Francesco de Pazzi should be commaunded : who, with Giovanbattista de Montesecco should go to Florence, and make provision of all things for the execution of the enterprise; whereunto the king Ferrando by his Embassador promised some aide. The Archbishop, and Francesco de Pazzi arrived at Florence, perswaded unto the conspiracie Giacompo di Poggio, a yong man well learned, but ambitious, and delighting in change. They perswaded also the two Giacopi Salviati, one was brother, the other nephew to the Archbishop. They perswaded likewise Barnardo Bandini, and Napolione (two valiant yong men borne in Fraunce) yet affectionat to the family of Pazzi. Of strangers (besides those we have named) they perswaded Antonio di Volterra, and one other called Steffano, a Priest, who taught the latin toong to the daughter of Giacompo. Rinato de Pazzi, being a wise and grave man (and such a one as knew the inconvenients that followed like enterprises) would not consent to the conspiracie, but by all honest meanes he could, impeached the same.

The Pope had in the Universitie of Pisa, maintained Raffaello de Riario (nephew to the Earle Girolamo) to learne the Cannon lawes, where he continued till the Pope advanced him to the dignitie of Cardinall. The conspirators thought fit to bring this Cardinall to Florence, whose coming, should cover the conspiracie, hoping to harbour in his house those conspirators, whom they had need of, and thereby take occasion to performe their intent. The Cardinall being desired, came, and was by Giacompo de Pazzi received at Montughi his towne, neare unto Florence. The conspirators desired by his occasion to assemble Lorenzo and Giuliano, and so to kill them. They found meanes then that they should feast the Cardinall at their towne of Fiesole, whither Giuliano either by hap or purpose came not, so as that appointment failed. Then determined they to convite them in Florence, whither of necessitie they must come, and so they tooke order to make the feast on Sunday the 26 of Aprill 1478. The conspirators thus determined

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to murder them at the feast, on Saturday night they met together, to take order for the execution of the murder the next day. The day being come, Francesco was advertised, that Giuliano would not be there. For which consideration, the conspirators met againe, and concluded, that it stood them upon to bring the matter to execution, because it was impossible (being knowne to so many) but it would be revealed, wherefore they determined to kill him in the Cathedrall Church of S. Reparata, where the Cardinall being, both the bretheren (according to their custome) would not faile to be. They ordered, that Giovanbattista should take in hand to kill Lorenzo, and Francesco de Pazzi, with Barnardo Bandini, should sley Giuliano. Giovanbattista, refused to performe his charge, either because the curteous usage of Lorenzo had mollified his mind, or else for some other occasion which moved him, said, he durst not commit so great a sinne in the Church, as to execute treason with sacrilege. Which conceit of Giovanbattista, was the first ruine of their enterprise; for the time drawing on, they were forced to commit that charge to Antonio of Volterra, and Steffano the Priest: two men, both for experience and nature, farre unfit for that purpose, because there is no action which requireth more resolution and constancie of mind, then this. And it behoveth him that should take such a matter in hand, to be a man accustomed to be present at the death of others. For it hath oft bene seene, that some men, used to armes and blood, have notwithstanding in like cases, let fall their courage. This determination set downe, they agreed that the time of the execution should be at the sacring time of Masse, and in the same instant, the Archbishop Salviati, with Giacopo, should take possession of the publike Pallace, to the end that the Senators either by consent or force (so soone as the yong men were slaine) should favour the conspirators. This course being agreed of, they went to the Temple, where they found the Cardinall, and Lorenzo de Medici. The Church was full of people, and the service begun, but Giuliano not come. Wherefore Francesco de Pazzi, with Barnardo (who had the charge of his death) went unto his house, and there by intreatie and cunning,

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perswaded him to come to the Church. And truly it is a thing worthy memorie, to know how so great hatred would be so covertly kept secret in the minds of Francesco and Barnardo. For both by the way going to the Church, and in the church, they entertained Giuliano with pleasant speech and youthful daliance. Also Francesco under colour of familier and friendly curtesie, tooke Giuliano in his armes, to feele whether he had on anie armour or garment of defence. Giuliano and Lorenzo knew well inough they were not beloved of the Pazzi, and that they desired to remove them from their authoritie in the state: yet feared they not their own lives, supposing that whensoever the Pazzi would attempt anie enterprise against them, they would do it civilly and not by violence. Therefore not mistrusting anie such measure, they likewise feined themselves to be their friends. The murtherers thus prepared, those that were appointed for slaughter of Lorenzo, thrust in among the multitude: where they might stand without suspection. The others, togithers with Giuliano, being come to the Church, at the time appointed, Barnardo Bandini with a short dagger made for the purpose, stabbed Giuliano to the heart, who mooving a step or two, fell to the ground: and upon him went Francesco de Pazzi wounding his bodie in many places so furiously, that he strake himselfe also a great wound in one of his owne legs. Antonio and Steffano assaulted Lorenzo, at whom they strake diverse times, but hurt him onely a litle in the throate. For either their negligence, his resistance, or the helpe of those that stood by, saved him from further harme. So that the conspirators fled, and hid themselves. But being afterwards founde, they were shamefully put to death, and their bodies drawne through all the streetes of the Citie. Lorenzo joyning with those friends he had about him, retired himselfe into the vesterie of the Temple, and there shut up the doores. Barnardo Bandini seeing Giuliano dead, slew also Francesco Nori a great friend to the Medici, either because hee hated him before, or because Francesco had gone about to save Giuliano. Also not content with these two murthers, he went towards Lorenzo, hoping by his courage and quicknesse to supplie that, which others for their sloth and

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cowardice had left undone. But Lorenzo being in the vestry, he could not performe his intent. In the midst of this great and terrible accident (which was such as made all men to feare, that the Church would have fallen downe) the Cardinall retired to the altar, where he was with great difficultie by the Priests saved, till such time (as the tumult ceased) the Senate could convey him to his Pallace, and there till his deliverie, with great feare he remained.

At that time there were in Florence, certaine Citizens of Perugia, who by the factions, (enemies to their houses,) had bene banished. These Perugini being promised by the Pazzi to be restored to their country, were also of this conspiracie. Whereupon the Archbishop Salviati, (who was gone to surprise the Pallace accompanied with Giacopo, the two other Salviati, and other his friends and followers) being come thither, left certaine of them below, charging them, that so soone as they should heare anie noyse, to take possession of the gate, and he with the greater part of the Perugini went up, where he found the Senate at dinner, and was presently let in by Cesare Petrucci Gonfaloniere di Giustitia. The Archbishop thus entred with a fewe, leaving the rest without, they of their owne accord went into the Chancery, where they shut themselves in. For the locke of that doore was by such devise made, as neither within, nor without, could be but with the key opened. The Archbishop in the meane space being with the Gonfaloniere, pretending to speake with him of matters by the Popes commandement, began to utter some speech fearefully, and as though he were amazed. In so much as the alteration of his countenance and words, wrought so great suspition in the Gonfaloniere, that sodeinly he thrust him out of the chamber: and seeing Giacopo there also, tooke him by the haire of the head, and delivered him to the hands of the Serjeants. The rest of the Senators perceiving these tumults: with those weapons which were next hand, assaulted the others which were come up with the Archbishop. Part of them being shut up, the rest were dismaid, all whom they sodeinly slew, or caused alive to be cast out of the Pallace window. Of this number, the Archbishop with the other two, Salviati and Giacopo de Poggio were hanged.

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The other conspirators which were left below, had wonne the gate from the guard, and gotten possession of all the lower roomes, so that the Citizens who resorted unto the Pallace upon this rumor, could neither with their counsell nor their force assist the Senators.

In the meane space, Francesco de Pazzi, and Barnardo Bandini seeing Lorenzo escaped, and one of them in whom the chiefe hope of the enterprise depended, to be sore hurt, were therewith dismaied. Wherupon Barnardo hoping with that courage to escape, wherewith he had injured the Medici, seeing the enterprise failed, fled away and saved himselfe. Francesco being come home to his house hurt, offered to mount on horsebacke (for the order was, that certaine armed men should be placed about the towne, and the people called to libertie and armes) but he could not: So deep was the wound, and so much blood had he lost. Wherefore he put off all his cloathes, and laide himselfe naked in bed; desiring Giacompo that he would performe that which himselfe could not: albeit Giacompo were old, and unpractised in such tumults, yet to make the last prooffe of fortune, mounted on horsebacke, followed with a hundreth horsemen or thereabouts (who were laid readie for the like enterprise) and with those he went to the Market place of the Pallace, calling the people to aide him, and recover their libertie. But the people by the fortune and liberallitie of the Medici made deaffe, gave no eare to helpe him, and the Florentines had so much forgotten their libertie, as he received no aunswere at all. Onely the Senators (who commaunded the highest place in the Pallace) saluted them with throwing downe of stones, and with threatenings by all wayes they could devise, terrified them. Giacompo standing then doubtfull what to doo, was met by Giovanni Saristori his brother in lawe, who first reprooved him and the rest, for the troubles they had begun, and then perswaded him to returne to his house, saying that the welfare of the people, and the libertie, touched other Citizens aswel as him. Thus Giacompo voyd of all hope, seeing the Senators his enemies, Lorenzo alive, Francesco hurt, and himselfe not followed of anie, determined to flee and save his life, if possibly he could. For which purpose, with that companie which was with him

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in the Market place, he went out of Florence towards Romagna.

In the meane time all the Citie were in armes, and Lorenzo di Medici accompanied with many armed men, returned home to his house. The Pallace was recovered by the people, and all the conspirators taken and slaine. Also throughout the Citie, the name of Medici was proclaimed, and the members of the dead men, either carried uppon the pointes of swordes and launces, or drawne through the streets: moreover everie man, both by wordes and deedes, irefully and cruelly persecuted the Pazzi. Their houses were by the people taken, and Francesco (naked as he laie in bed) drawne out and brought to the Pallace, where he was hanged fast by the Archbishop and others his companions. But he would not in any wise, for any injurie done unto him by the way, or after, speak any word at all: but looked every man earnestly in the face, and so without other lamentation tooke leave of life. Guglielmo di Pazzi, (brother in lawe to Lorenzo) by his owne innocencie and the help of his wife Bianca, saved himselfe in his house. There was no Citizen either armed or disarmed, but in that necessitie went unto Lorenzo, offering him their service and substance. So great was the fortune and favour, which that house, by his wisdom and liberallitie had gained. Rinato de Pazzi, when this chaunce happened, retired to his house in the countrey: where understanding therof, he disguised himselfe and fled. Notwithstanding, being knowne by the way, hee was taken and brought to Florence. Giacopo in passing the Alpes was also taken. For those mountaine people hearing what had happened in Florence, and seeing him fleeing, staied him, and brought him back to Florence. Neither could he intreat them to kill him by the way, although he earnestly desired them so to do. Giacopo and Rinato were brought to their death, foure daies after this accident happened: and among so many murthers and executions done all those foure daies, by meanes whereof the streets were filled with dead men; yet was there no compassion taken of any, but onely of this Rinato; because he was accounted a wise man, honest, and free from that pride, whereof the rest of that house were noted. And so

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of this con-
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the end that this action might proceed for an extraordinarie example, Giacopo being buried among his auncestors, was (as a man excommunicate) taken up, and by the haulter wherewith he was hanged, drawne naked throughout the Citie: and those that drew him, not vouchsaving him a grave, threw his bodie into the river of Arno. A rare example of fortune, to see a man of so great riches, and happie estate, to fall into so great infelicitie, and be ruined with so much crueltie. Some have reported him, to be delighted in vices, and that he tooke great pleasure in gaiming and swearing, as one that was carelesse and desperate. These vices he covered with liberallitie and almes: for he largely releevd many poore men, and gave mony to places of devotion. This good also may be said of him, that the night before the Sunday appointed for the murther (to the end no friend should be partaker of his misfortune) hee paid all his debts, and delivered all the merchandise he had of other mens to the proper owners, with marveilous care and diligence. Giovanbattista de Montesecco, after many examinations, was beheaded. Nappolione the Frenchman, scaped away, and by that meanes saved himselfe. Guglielmo de Pazzi, was banished, and his brother in lawes left alive, were put in prison in the bottome of the Castle at Volterra. The tumults thus pacified, and the conspirators punished, the funerall of Giuliano was celebrated with much lamentation of all Citizens: because there was in him so great liberallitie and curtesie, as might be wished in any man borne to like fortune. Of Giuliano there remained one sonne, who was borne a fewe moneths after his death, and was called Giulio: who became of that vertue and fortune, which at this present all the world knoweth, and I will (when occasion shall be offered if God graunt me life) speake of him at large. Those souldiers which were conducted by Lorenzo da Castella in the vale of Tevere, and those which served under Giovanfrancesco da Tolentino in Romagna, were joyned together to aide the Pazzi: and were comming towards Florence. But hearing the enterprise was miscarried, they returned backe. And the alteration of the state not being brought to passe (as the Pope and King desired) they determined to do that by open warre, which

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by secret conspiracie they could not. Then both the one and the other of them, with all possible speede, assembled their forces to assault the state of Florence: publishing that they required nothing of that Citie, but that it would remove Lorenzo de Medici, whom among all the Florentines, they accounted their onely enemie. The King his souldiers, were alreadie passed Tronto, and the Popes forces, arrived in the countrey of Perugia. The Pope also intending to make the Florentines to taste of spirituall affliction, did excommunicate and curse them.

The Florentines seeing so great forces comming against them, with great care prepared for defence. And Lorenzo de Medici (because the warre was said to be made onely against him) desired before all other things, to assemble in the Pallace with the Senate all the principall Cittizens, to the number of three hundreth or more: unto whom he spake as followeth. I know not (right noble Lords and magnificent Cittizens) whether I ought lament or rejoyce with you, for these matters lately happened. For when I consider with what fraud and despight I was assaulted, and my brother slaine; I cannot but bee sorrie, and with all my heart and soule lament. Yet when I remember with what readinesse, what love and universall consent of all this Citie, my brothers death was revenged and I defended, I must of force be glad, and greatly esteeme my selfe. For as experience hath now taught me to know, that I have more enemies in the Cittie then I thought, so hath it enformed mee, that I had also more earnest and affectionate friends then I looked for. I am then to condole with you for the injurie of others, and rejoyce with you, for your owne merits: yet must my sorrow be the more, because the injuries were rare, never seene, and not of us deserved. Consider (right noble Cittizens) to what point frowarde fortune had brought our house, that among our friends, our kinsfolks, and in the Church, it was not assured. Such as stand in feare of their lives, were wont to resort to their friends for aide, and flee to their kinsfolk for succour: both whom we found readie armed to our destruction. Such as either mistrusted private or publike persecution, have found refuge in Churches: but the same having saved others, hath bin made a place

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The Pope
and King
move warre
against the
Florentines.

The speech of
Lorenzo di
Medici, to the
Florentines.

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for our murder. For where murderers and theeves have found refuge, the Medici have met with ministers of their death. But God (who hitherto did never abandon our house) hath saved us, and taken upon him the defence of our just cause. For what injurie have we done, that might of any man merit so great desire of revenge? Truly we never offended privately any of these, who have prooved themselves so much our enemies. For if we had offended them, they should not have had so great meane to offend us. Or if they attribute to us the publique injuries (whereof I am not privie) they offend rather you then us; rather this Pallace, and majestie of government then our house: seeming that for our cause you do undeservedly injure them, and the rest of your Citizens, which is farre from all troth. For we, though we could, and you (though we would) did never consent they should be done. Whosoever doth looke well into the truth, shall finde, that our house hath bene by you, with so universall consent, advaunced for nothing more, then for that it hath studied to excell others in curtesie, liberallitie, and well dooing. If then we have honoured straungers, how have we injured our kinsfolke? If this motion proceeded of desire to governe (as it seemeth to do, by taking the Pallace and leading armed men to the Market place) thereby appeareth, how evill, ambitious, and reprooveable it is. If it be done, for the mallice and envie they beare to our authoritie, therein they offend you, not us to whom you have given it. For surely those authorities deserve hate, which men usurpe, not those which with curtesie, liberallitie, and magnificence be gained. You know also that our house never ascended to any degree of greatness, but by order of this Pallace, and your universall graunt. Cosimo my graundfather, returned not from exile by force of armes or violence, but by your allowance and consent. My father being aged and sicke, could not defend his authoritie against so many enemies, but you with your authoritie did it. I my selfe after my fathers death (being as it were a childe) have not maintained the estimation of my house, but by your counsels and favour. Neither could our house have governed this common-weale, had you not joyned, and doo joyne in the government thereof. I cannot

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therefore imagine, what cause of mallice they have against us, or what just occasion to envie us. For sith their owne auncestors with their pride and covetise, have lost those honours, why should they envie us, if by contrarie desert we have gained them? But admit the injuries done them by us be great, and that they justly desired our ruine, yet why should they offend this Pallace? Why make they league with the Pope and King against the libertie of this state? Or why do they disturbe the long peace of Italy? Hereof they have no excuse at all, for they ought to offend those, who offended them; and not mixe private displeasures, with publique injuries: which is the reason that they being extirped, our miserie is the more. For by their meanes the Pope and King are comming towards us in armes: and that warre (they say) to be made onely against me and my house. Which would God were true, because then the remedie is readie and certain. For I am not so bad a Citizen, as to preferre my private welfare, before your publique weldooing: but would willingly quench your fire, with my own destruction. Yet sith the injuries which great men do, be alwaies covered with some pretence lesse dishonest, they have chosen this quarell, to cloake their shamefull enterprise. But if it so be, that you beleieve the contrarie, I am in your hands to be holden, or let loose, as your selves shall thinke best. You are my fathers, you are my defenders, whatsoever you commaund, I obey and will performe. Neither will I ever refuse (if it shall please you) to end this warre with my bloud, which by the bloud of my brother hath bene begun.

While Lorenzo thus spake, the Cittizens could not re-fraine weeping: and with such compassion as they heard him, he was by one of them, answered, saying; The Cittie did acknowledge to have received so much good of him and his, as hee might assure himselfe they would be no lesse readie to preserve his reputation and authoritie, then they had bene willing to revenge his brothers death, and save his life. And before he should lose either the one or the other, they would hazard the losse of their countrey. And to the end their deeds might be answerable to those words, they appointed a certain number of men to guard his person

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from domesticall treasons: and after tooke order for the warre, levying both men and money by all meanes convenient. Then by vertue of the league, they sent for aide to the Duke of Milan and the Venetians. And sith the Pope had shewed himselfe a wolfe and no shepheard, fearing to be devoured, by all possible meanes they justified their cause, letting all Italy know the treason practised against their state: declaring the wickednesse of the Pope, and his injustice; who being by indirect meanes aspired to the Papacie, would also with mallice exercise the same. For he had not onely first sent a Prelate of his to accompanie traytors, and cut-throates to commit murther in the Temple, even in the time of divine service, and at the instant of celebration of the Sacrament, (and so by the death of the Citizens to chaunge the government, and sacke the Cittie at his pleasure) but had also excommunicated them, and with his papall curses threatned and offended them. Notwithstanding if God were just, and that the injuries of men were to him offensive, it could not be, but that the actions of this Pope were to him displeasing, and would be content that men injured (not having any other refuge) might resort unto him. Wherefore the Florentines did not onely refuse to obey this excommunication, but also the same notwithstanding, inforce their Priests to celebrate divine service. They also assembled a Councell in Florence, wherunto all the Prelates of Toscana repaired, and appealed from the Pope to the next Councell. On the other side, the Pope wanted not reasons to justifie his cause: and therefore alleaged it was the office of a chief Bishop, to remove tyrants, oppresse the wicked, and advaunce the good. All which things, it behoved him by all waies to procure. For it was not the office of seculer Princes to imprison Cardinals, hang up Bishops, to kill, cut in peeces, and drawe the Priests through the streets, murthering both guiltie and unguiltie people, without respect. Notwithstanding all these quarrels and accusations, the Cardinall (whom the Florentines kept prisoner) was released, and sent home to the Pope: which was the cause that the Pope without respect, with all his and the Kings forces, assailed them. And those two armies conducted by Alfonso, eldest sonne of Ferrando Duke of

The Florentines carelesse of the Popes curse.

The Pope and King assault the Florentines.

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Calauria, and by Federigo Earle of Urbino entred Chianti, by leave of the Sanesi (who favoured the enemies) and surprized Radda with diverse other Castles, and spoiled the country: which done, they encamped at Castellina. The Florentines seeing these assaults, were much afraid, being without men, and slowly aided by friends. For albeit the Duke had sent a supplye, yet the Venetians denied they were bound to helpe them in private causes. And the warre being against private men they were not to aide them; because private quarrels are not publicly to be defended. Wherefore the Florentines thought good by Embassadors to perswade the Venetians to a better opinion: and sent Tomaso Soderini unto the Senate. In the meane space souldiers were entertained, and Hercule Marquisse of Farrara appointed Generall. While this preparation was in making, the enemy distressed Castellina, and the people there despairing of rescue, after fortie daies defence, yeelded. From thence the enemy marched towards Arezzo, and laid siege to Monte S. Sovino. By this time the Florentine armie was readie, and being come within three miles, the enemy seemed therewith perplexed. For Federigo de Urbino desired truce for a few daies: which was graunted with so great disadvantage to the Florentines, that they who desired it, did much mervaile. For if that request had not bene obtained, they had bene forced to depart with shame. But having those daies to repaire them, in the ende of the truce, they tooke that Castle, before the faces of our men. Yet the winter at hand, the enemy to lodge himselfe with more commoditie, retired into the country of Siena. The Florentines likewise bestowed themselves, where with most commoditie they could. And the Marquisse of Farrara having litle profitted himselfe, and done lesse good to others, returned to his owne.

In those daies Genova rebelled from the Duke upon these considerations. After the death Galeazzo (having left his sonne yong and unfit to governe) there grew discention betwixt Lodovico, Octaviano, and Ascanio his uncles, and the Ladie Bona his mother: for everie of them, desired the tuition of the yong Duke. In which contentions the Ladie Bona Duchesse, by counsell of Tomaso Soderini

Genova rebelled from the Duke of Milan.

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Embassador there for the Florentines, and Cecco Simonetti (who had bene Secretarie to Galeazzo) gat the upper hand. Whereupon the Sforzi fled from Milan. Octaviano flying, was drowned in the River Adda: and the others, together with Roberto of Sanseverino, were to sundrie places confined; for Roberto in those troubles had abandoned the Duches, and joyned with them. After happened some tumults in Toscana, by which new accidents, those Princes hoping of new fortune, everie of them attempted somewhat, whereby to returne to his country. The King Ferrando, who saw that the Florentines were in their necessitie, succoured onely by the state of Milan, to take also from them that aide, found meanes that the Duchesse should so be set a worke in her country, as of her, they could not be aided. And by Prospero Adorno, and the Lord Roberto (who were rebelled) found meanes to make Genova revolt from the Duke. Neverthelesse the small Castle stood firme; wherunto the Duchesse sent great forces to recover the Citie: but they were overthrowne. Then she seeing the daunger of her sonne and her selfe, by the continuance of that warre, Toscana disordered, and the Florentines (in whom she onely hoped) afflicted, determined that sith she could not hold Genova as subject, she would recover it as a friend. And agreed with Battistino Fregoso (enemie to Prospero Adorno,) to give him the little Castle, and make him Prince of Genova, upon condition, that he would drive out Prospero, and disfavoure the Sforza. According to this agreement, Battistino with the helpe of the Castle, and his faction, surprized Genova, and according to the custome made himselfe Doge. The Sforzi then, and the Lord Roberto, being driven out of Genova, went with their followers to Lunigiana. Thereupon the Pope and King seeing the troubles of Lombardy pacified, tooke occasion by those that were driven from Genova, to disturbe that part of Toscana which is towards Pisa. To the ende that the Florentines dividing their forces should become weake: and tooke order that the winter now past, Roberto should goe with his forces from Lunigiana to assault the countrey of Pisa. This Roberto then moved exceeding great tumult surprizing and sacking many

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castles in that country, and spoiling hard to the wals of Pisa.

At that time arrived in Florence Embassadors from the Emperor, the French King, and the King of Hungary: sent by those Princes to the Pope. They perswaded the Florentines also to send unto him, promising to make some end of the war, and procure a good peace. The Florentines refused not to make this trial, and the rather that therby they should let the world know, they were desirous of peace. These Embassadors dispatched, returned again without any thing done. Whereupon the Florentines, to honor themselves by the reputation of the French King (being by the Italians partly offended, and partly abandoned) sent unto him Donato Acciaivoli, a man well learned in the Greek and Latin toongs, and one whose ancestors had alwaies born office in the citie: but being on his way, at Milan he died. Then the state to reward his heires, and honor the memory of him being dead, with publike expence honorably buried his bodie, advancing his sons, and giving portions of mony to his daughters marriages. In his place, they sent Embassador to the King, Guidantonio Vespucci, a man also learned in the Emperial and Papall lawes. The assault of Roberto upon the country of Pisa, troubled much the Florentines, for being alreadie occupied in a great war towards Siena, they saw not how to make provision for Pisa. But to hold the Lucchesi faithfull, and that they should not releev the enimie with mony or victual, sent Embassador unto them Piero Capponi: who was (by reason of the auncient hate which that citie beareth to the Florentines) received with so great suspition, as hee feared many times to have bene popularly slaine. Insomuch as this journey did rather breede occasion of new displeasure, then new friendship. The Florentines then revoked the Marquesse of Farrara, entertained the Marquesse of Mantova, and with great sute, required of the Venetians to have the Earle Carlo, sonne of Braccio, and Deifebo, sonne of the Earle Giacopo. Which request, after many cavillations, was by the Venetians graunted. For they having made truce with the Turke, had no colour to deny them, and were ashamed to break their promise made to the League. The Earles Carlo and

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Deifebo, came with a good number of men at armes, and joyning to them all other the men of armes they could spare, from the army which served under the Marques of Farrara, against the Duke of Calauria, went towards Pisa to encounter Roberto: who with his men was neare to the river of Serchio. And albeit he made shew to tarry for our men, yet did he not, but retired into Lunigiana, to those lodgings from whence he came, when he entred into the country of Pisa. After his departure, all those towns were recovered by the Earle Carlo, which the enimies had before taken in the country of Pisa. The Florentines delivered of the enemy towards Pisa, caused all their forces to be brought betwixt Colle and S. Gimignano. But by reason of the Earle Carlo his comming, there were in that camp both the folowers, Sforza and Braccio: which was the occasion that (moved with old envy) they began to mutiny: and was feared, that if they had bin long together they would have come to blows. It was therfore thought fit for eschuing a worse mischief, to divide the soldiers, and send one part of them into the country of Perugia, under the Earle Carlo: the other to stay at Piggibonzi, there to entrench themselves strong, and procure that the enemy shuld not enter the Florentines land. By this action they also hoped to constrain the enimies to divide their forces: for they thought either that the Earle Carlo shuld surprize Perugia, where they supposed he had many partakers, or that the Pope shuld be inforced to send great forces to defend it. They practised moreover (to bring the pope in more necessity) that Nicolo Vitelli (being come from the city of Castello, where Lorenzo his enemy was chief) shuld with his men approach the town, remove his adversary, and take it from the pope. At the beginning it seemed as thogh fortune wold have favored the Florentine attempts: bicause Earle Carlo proceded wel in the country of Perugia. Nicholo Vitelli also, although he entred into Castello, yet he and his were strongest in the field, and without any resistance, spoiled about the Citie at his pleasure. Likewise the forces left at Poggibonzi, went every day to the walles of Siena. Notwithstanding all these hopes became vaine. First died the Earle Carlo in the chiefe hope of his victorie: whose death had bettered the

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estate of the Florentines, if the victorie which grew thereof, had bene well used. For so soone as the Earles death was knowne, sodeinly the Popes souldiers (who were altogether at Perugia) hoped to overthrow the Florentines: and comming forth into the field, lodged themselves upon the lage, distant three miles from the enemie.

On the other side, Giacopo Guicciardini (who was Commissary of that camp) with the counsel of Roberto da Rimino (Chieftain after the death of the Earle Carlo) knowing the occasion of the enemies pride, determined to staie for them. So as, joyning battle uppon that lage (where in old time Anniball gave that memorable overthrow to the Romanes) the Popes forces were broken. Which victory was in Florence received with commendation of the captaines, and comfort of all others. And the same had proved the honor and profit of the enterprise, if the disorders which grew in the army at Poggibonzi had not undone all. And thus the good successe of the one camp was utterly marred by the other. For the souldiers of that army having gotten a bootie in the country of Siena, in the division therof, the Marques of Farrara and Mantova fell in debate. Insomuch as they came to armes, either injuring the other by all meanes they could. Whereby the Florentines finding they could no more imploy them together, were pleased that the Marques of Farrara with his men should be discharged. That army thus weakned and left without a governor, proceeding in every thing disorderly: the Duke of Calauria (who was with his camp near to Siena) tooke courage to approach, and so did. The Florentins seeing themselves likely to be assailed, neither trusted to their force, nor their number, which was greater then the enemies, nor in their place where they were, being of great force: but without respect, even at sight of the enemy, and the dust, fled; leaving the munition, the cariages and artillery. So beastly and cowardly were those camps, when the charge or retire of one horse, might make the losse, or winning of an enterprise. This discomfit filled the kings souldiers with spoile, and the Florentines with feare. For their citie was not onely afflicted with war, but also with pestilence: which was so great, that all the Cittizens to shun death, were

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forces discom-
fited by the
Florentines.

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retired to their country houses. This overthrow was the more terrible, because those Cittizens who had land in the vales of Pisa and Delsa, being come thither, (the overthrow performed) with all possible speed returned to Florence, leading with them not only their children and goods, but also their labourers. For everie houre it was feared, the enemy would present himself before the citie. The officers for the war, seeing this disorder, commanded those forces which were victorious in the country of Perugia, to surcease their enterprise against the Perugini, and come to the vale of Delsa, to encounter the enemy there: who after the victory, did without resistance spoile the country. And albeit they had so greatly distressed the citie of Perugia, as they might everie houre looke for victorie, yet the Florentines resolved rather to defend their own, then take from others. Thus that army removed from the place of happy successe, was brought to S. Cassiano, a Castle distant from Florence 8 miles: thinking they could not staie in any other place, till such time as the broken Camp were supplied. The enemies on the other side at Perugia being free by the departure of the Florentine souldiers, become audacious, did daily take great booties in the countries of Arezzo and Cortona: and the others who had victory under Alfonso Duke of Calauria at Poggibonzi, got the possession first of Poggibonzi, and then of Vico, and sacked Certaldo. Having won these towns, and committed these spoils, they incamped before the castle of Colle, which in those daies was accounted a place of great strength, and the people of that country, being faithfull to the Florentines, were of force sufficient to hold the enemy off, till the armie was assembled. The Florentines then having gathered all their forces at S. Cassiano, and the enemies furiously besieging Colle, determined to draw neare unto them, to encourage their friendes to defend themselves: supposing also that the enemy wold offend with more respect, for having his adversary at hand. This resolution set downe, they removed the Campe from S. Casciano, and brought it to S. Giminiano, within five myles of Colle: from whence with light horses and other suddeine meanes, they daily molested the Dukes Camp. Notwithstanding, this supplie sufficed not those of Colle:

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for wanting necessarie provision, on the thirteenth day of November they yeelded, to the great grieve of the Florentines, and the joy of the enemies: and chiefly of the Sanesi, who besides their hate to the Florentines, beare also private grudge to the Collegiani.

By this time the winter was great, and the season unfit for warre, so that the Pope and King (either because they would give hope of peace, or that they desired to enjoy the passed victorie quietly) offered to the Florentines truce for three moneths, and gave them ten dayes respite to make answer: which was presently accepted. But as a wounde when the blood therein groweth colde, grieveth the bodie more, then when it was received, so this small rest, caused the Florentines to knowe the travailes they had endured: and the Cittizens without respect accused one an other, of the errors committed in the last warre, for the charges in vaine spent, and the Impositions unjustly put upon them. Which matters were not only spoken of among private men, but the same was also boldly propounded in the Councils. And one of them tooke courage, turning his face towards Lorenzo de Medici, sayd unto him. This Citie is wearied, and refuseth to have longer warre. It behoveth therefore that we devise which way to make peace. Then Lorenzo knowing the necessitie, consulted with those friends whom he knew most faithfull and wise, and concluded (first perceiving the Venetians coldnesse and inconstancie, the Dukes infancy and trouble of civill warres) that it was necessarie with new friends to seeke new fortune. Yet stood they doubtfull whether they were best trust unto the Pope, or the King. The matter being well examined, they preferred the Kings friendship as most stable and sure. Because the shortnesse of the Popes lives, the chaunge of their succession, the small feare which the Church hath of Princes, and the fewe respects which it useth in resolution, are the causes why a seculer Prince cannot assuredly trust unto a Pope, nor safely passe one fortune with him. For whosoever is friend unto the Pope in warres and daungers, shall be by him accompanied in the victorie, but in adversities left alone: because the Pope is by spirituall power and reputation, supported and defended. This resolution made, that

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The Florentines seeke the King Ferrando his favour.

Lorenzo de Medici, Ambassador for the Florentines.

Antonio Tassino.

to gaine the Kings friendship was best: they thought the same by no meane better procured, nor with more assurance, then by the presence of Lorenzo. For the more liberallitie were used to him, the more they thought he would forget former displeasures. Lorenzo determined uppon this journey, reaccomended the Citie and state unto Tomaso Soderini, then Gonfaloniere di Giustitia, and in the beginning of December he departed from Florence: and being arrived at Pisa, wrote unto the Senate the occasion of his departure; and the Senate to honor him, and that he might with more reputation conclude the peace with the King, made him Ambassador for the people of Florence, with full authoritie to proceed, as by his discretion should be thought good.

In the meane time Roberto da San Severino, together with Lodovico and Ascanio (for their third brother Octaviano Sforza was dead) assaulted againe the State of Milan, desirous to winne the government thereof. And having surprized Tortona, Milan also with the whole countrey was in armes. Then the Duchesse Bona was counselled to admit the Sforzi into the State, and by that meane appease the civill discention. The chief of those Counsellors, was Antonio Tassino of Farrara: who being bacely born, came to Milan, and was by the Duke Galeazzo and the Duchesse received to serve in their chamber. He either for the bewtie of his person, or for some other secret vertue, after the death of the Duke, aspired to so great favour with the Duchesse, as almost alone hee governed the state: which greatly displeased Cecco, being a man both for learning and long experience excellent. So as he both to the Duchesse and others, laboured to decrease the credit of Tassino. Wherof Tassino being aware, to be revenged, and have ayd at hand to defend him from Cecco, perswaded the Duchesse to receive home the Sforzi: which she did without making Cecco privie. But Cecco after knowing thereof, saide unto her; Madame, you have made a resolution which will take my life from mee, and the state from you: As shortly after came to passe. For Cecco was by the Lodovico put to death: and Tassino, within a short space (being driven out of the Duchie) the Duchesse tooke

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therat so great offence, that she went from Milan, and renounced the government of her sonne unto Lodovico. Thus Lodovico become onely governour of Milan, was (as shall be declared) the occasion of the ruine of Italy.

Lorenzo de Medici was now on his way towards Naples, and the peace betwixt the enemies in communication: when beyond all expectation Lodovico Fregoso having practised with some Serezanasi, by stealth entered with armed men into Serezana, taking possession of that Towne, and imprisoned those that governed then for the Florentines. This accident greatly offended the princes of the Florentine state, who thought the matter was brought to passe by direction of the king Ferrando. And complained to the Duke of Calauria (who was at the Campe before Siena) saying they were notwithstanding the truce, assaulted with newe warre. He both by Letters, Embassages, and everie other way, declared the same was done without the consent of his father. The Florentines neverthesse thought themselves in hard estate, wanting money; the chiefe of their Common-weale in the Kings hand: A new warre mooved by the Genovesi, and without friendes. For in the Venetians they trusted not: and feared leaste the government of Milan was unassured. Their onely hope was upon that which Lorenzo de Medici was to conclude with the King. Lorenzo arrived at Naples by sea, was there both by the King and all that Cittie, honourable and with great expectation received. Because so great a warre being made onely to oppresse him, his enemies thereby did make him more great. For being come to the Kings presence, hee debated with him the estate of Italy, the humors of princes and people thereof, and what might be hoped of the peace, and feared by the warre. Which the King hearing, grew into more admiration, to finde in him so noble a minde, so readie a wit, and so great a judgement, then that he could endure so long a warre. In so much as the King doubled the honours before done unto him, and beganne to devise rather how hee might winne him for a friend, then continue him an enemy. Notwithstanding for diverse causes hee entertained him from December till Marche, not onely to make the more triall of him, but also of his Cittie. For

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Lodovico
Sforza,
Governor
of the Duke
of Milan.

Lorenzo
de Medici,
arrived at
Naples.

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Peace and
league be-
tweene the
King and the
Florentines.

Lorenzo wanted not enemies in Florence, who desired that the King would have holden him, and entertained Giacopo Piccinino: and under colour of lamenting, they speake their mindes. Also in publique Councelles, they opposed their opinions against Lorenzo. By these devises; It was bruted, that if the King would keepe Lorenzo long at Naples, the government in Florence should be chaunged. Whiche was the onely cause that the King deferred his dispatch so long, hoping there might some tumult arise in Florence. But seeing that all thinges passed quietly, on the sixt day of March, in the yeare 1479 he had leave to depart, and before his departure was by the King so bountifully presented, and lovingly used, that betwixt Lorenzo and the King their grew a perpetual amity, and preservation of both their states. Thus Lorenzo returned to Florence with greater reputation and honor then he went thence, and was with so great joy of the citie received, as his great vertues and new merits deserved: having put his own life in hazard to recover peace to his country. For within two daies after his arrivall, the treaty betwixt the common weale of Florence and the King was proclaimed, wherby they were both bound to defend one the others countrey: and that the townes taken from the Florentines in the war, shuld be by the King restored. And that the Pazzi imprisoned in the town of Volterra, shuld be delivered. And that mony should be for a certaine time paide unto the Duke of Calauria.

This peace being published, did much offend the Pope and the Venetians, because the Pope thought he was litle esteemed of the King, and the Venetians as litle regarded of the Florentines: who being their companions in the war, thought themselves il used, not to be partakers of the peace. This indignation understood and beleaved at Florence, did sodeinly breed suspition in everie man, that of the peace wold arise a greater war. Wherupon the Magistrates of the state, determined to restraine the government, and that the affaires of most importance should be reduced into the hands of a lesse number: and so ordeined a Councell of 70 Citizens, with authoritie that they might proceed in matters of most importance. This new ordinance staid the minds of those that desired innovation, and to

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give thereto countenance, first of all they accepted the peace, which Lorenzo had made with the King, and sent unto the Pope Antonio Ridolphi, and Piero Nasi. Nevertheless Alfonso Duke of Calauria, did not remove his army from Siena, saying he was staied by the discord of the citizens there, which was so great, that he being lodged without the citie was called in and made judge of their differents. The Duke taking these occasions, punished many of those citizens in mony, imprisoning and banishing others, and some also were judged to death. In so much as by this meanes he became suspected not only to the Sanesi, but the Florentines also mistrusted he would make himself Prince of that citie. Wherof they knew no remedy, considering the new friendship of Florence with the King, and the enmitie of the Pope and King. Which suspition, not only in the people of Florence generally (who mistrustfully consider of all things) but in the chief governors of the state, appeared: every man imagining, that our citie had never bin in so great danger to lose the liberty therof. But God who had ever a particuler care of it, caused an accident to happen unlooked for, which made the King, the Pope, and the Venetians, to think of greater matters then these of Toscana.

Mahumetto great Turk, was with a mighty army gone to the Ile of Rodes, and had many months assaulted it. But notwithstanding his forces were great, and his resolution to win the town greater, yet was the vertue of those that defended the same, greatest of all. For Mahumetto notwithstanding his furious assaults, was forced to depart with shame. Thus the Turk being departed from Rodes, part of his army conducted by Saccometto Bascia, went towards Velona, and by the way, either for that he saw the enterprise easie, or because the Turk had so commanded, passed by the coast of Italy, and sodeinly set 4000 men on land, who assaulted the citie of Ottranto, tooke it, sacked it, and slew all the inhabitants therof: which done, by all the best means he could; fortified both the citie, and the haven. Then sent he for horsmen, and with them he foraged, and spoiled the country round about. The king seeing this assault, and knowing how great a prince had

The Isle
of Rodes
assaulted by
the Turkes.

The Turks
landed in
Italy.

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taken that enterprise in hand, sent unto al places to signify the same, and desired aid of them al, against the common enemy. Also speedily revoked the Duke of Calauria with his forces from Siena. This assault, thogh it grieved the duke and the rest of Italy, yet did the same comfort Florence and Siena. One hoping therby to recover liberty, th' other trusting the rather to shun those perils, which made them to feare the losse of their libertie. Which opinion was encreased by the unwilling departure, and lamentation of the Duke, at his going from Siena, accusing fortune, that she by an unlooked for and unreasonable accident, had taken from him the dominion of Toscana. The selfsame chance did alter the Popes mind: for where before, he refused to give audience to all Florentines, he was now become so curteous, as he refused not to hear any that wold speak unto him of the universal peace. Whereupon the Florentines were advertised, that if they would desire pardon of the Pope, they might obtaine it. It was then thought good, not to omit this occasion: and 12 Embassadors were sent to the Pope, who being arrived at Rome, were by his holinesse before they had audience, entertained with divers practises. In the end it was betweene the parties concluded, how either of them should afterwards live, and in what sort either of them both in peace and war, were to make contribution. After this conclusion, the Embassadors were admitted to present themselves at the Popes feete: and he sitting in the midst of his Cardinals, with exceeding great pomp, received them. These Embassadors excused all matters passed, sometimes blaming necessitie, sometimes the evil disposition of others, sometimes the populer furie, and the just offence thereof, saying they were most unhappie, being forced either to fight, or die. And because all things are endured to eschue death, they had suffered war, excommunications, and all other troubles, which the matters passed had brought with them. And all to the end, that their common weale might avoyd bondage, which is the death of all free Cities. Nevertheles if any error or enforced fault were committed, they were ready to make satisfaction: ever hoping in his goodnes, (who following the examples of the almightie Redeemer) he

The speech of
the Floren-
tine Embas-
sadors to the
Pope.

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would receive them, rather for his mercie, then their merits. To which excuses, the Pope answered with great pride and anger; reproving them of all things done against the church; notwithstanding for Gods sake, he was pleased to grant them the pardon they desired: yet therewith affirming they were to obey him, and if they shal faile of obedience, their libertie which now should have bin lost, shall then be justly taken from them. For they deserve libertie, who take in hand good actions, and not they that in evil enterprises employ themselves. Because libertie abused, offendeth it self and others. Also to esteem God litle, and the church lesse, is not the office of good men, but of vain persons, enclined to evil. The correction of whom apperteineth not onely to Princes, but to every christian: so as they were for matters passed to blame their own evil doings, which was the first occasion of war, and by their worse doings it was norished. But all anger was now extinguished, rather by the goodnes of others, then their own deserts. After publication of the peace, the Popes blessing was read. Whereunto his holinesse by word of mouth added, that if they would enjoy the benifit of his benediction, they should during the Turks war in the kingdom, maintein at their charge 15 gallies wel paid. The Embassadors complained much of this burden imposed over and above the contract. Yet by no meanes they could make, or by any lamentation they used, the Pope would diminish any part of that penance. But the Embassadors being returned to Florence, the Senate for confirmation of this peace, sent Ambassador to the Pope, Guidantonio Vespucci, who was lately arived from France. He by his wisdom brought all matters unto reasonable termes, and obtained many favours of the Pope, which was a token of greater reconciliation.

The Florentines having ended their busines with the Pope, and Siena with themselves being delivered from feare of the King by the departure of the Duke of Calauria, and the Turkes warre continuing, constrained the King to restore all the Castles which the Duke of Calauria at his departure left in the handes of the Sanesi. Wherby that King hoped, that the Florentines in so great necessitie would not shrinke from him, or by mooving of warre

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The Popes
answere.

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against the Sanesi, impeach the aide which hee hoped of from the Pope and other Italian Princes. And therefore was content that the Castles should bee restored, and bound the Florentines by a new obligation. So as thereby we see, that force and necessitie, but not writings or obligations, do make Princes to observe their faith. The Castles thus received, and the new confederacie made, Lorenzo di Medici recovered that reputation, which the warre first and after the peace (when the King was feared) had taken from him. For there wanted not those that openly slaundered him, and said, that for saving himselfe, he had sould his countrey, and that by the warre they lost their townes, and by the peace they should lose their libertie. But the townes recovered an honorable peace made with the King, and the Cittie returned to the auncient reputation. For in Florence (a Cittie free of speech, and therein matters judged by their successe, and not by counsell) the case was altered, and Lorenzo commended to the skies, everie man saying, that he with his wisdom had found meanes to recover that by peace, which evill fortune had taken from them in warre: and that his counsell and judgement, had prevailed more then the enemies armes, or their money. The assault of the Turks had deferred that warre, which by offence of the Pope and Venetians would have bene moved. But as the beginning of that assault was unlooked for, and occasion of much good, so was the end thereof unlooked for, and the cause of much evill: for Mahumetto great Turke, beyond all expectation died, and discord growing betwixt his sonnes, those Turks that were in Puglia, being abandoned of their Lord, by composition yeelded Ottranto to the King. This feare removed, which held the Pope and Venetians firme, every man doubted new tumults. On the one side, the Pope and the Venetians were in league, and with them the Genovesi, Sanesi, and other lesse Potentates. On the other, were the Florentines, the King, and the Duke, with whome, the Bolognesi, and many other Lords joyned. The Venetians desired to become Lords of Farrara, supposing they had reasonable occasion to begin that enterprize, and certaine hope to performe it. The occasion was, bicause the Marquesse affirmed, he was no longer

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bound to receive the Visdomine and their salte, bicause the contract was, that after seaventie yeares, the Cittie should be disburthened of those charges. The Venetians to the contrarie answered, that so long as he did hold the Polesine, so long he ought to receive the Visdomine and the salte. But the Marquesse not consenting thereto, the Venetians thought they had just occasion to take armes, and time fit for the same, seeing the Pope much offended with the Florentines and the King, whose favour they hoped the rather to have, bicause the Earle Girolamo being at Venice, was there received most honorablie: and the Venetians bestowed on him the title of a Gentleman of that state, which is the greatest token of honor, which they will, or can give. They had also for preparation of the warres, imposed a new Subsidie, and chosen Roberto de Sanseverino for their Generall: who being offended with Lodovico, Governour of Milan, was fled to Tortona, and there having made some tumults, went to Genova; from thence he was called by the Venetians, and made Chiefetaine of their armie.

These preparations and new motions being knowne to those of the contrarie league, was the cause that they also prepared for the warre. The Duke of Milan made Federigo Lord of Urbino, his Generall, and the Florentines Costanzo de Pesaro. Also, to sound the disposition of the Pope, and to discover whether the Venetians with his consent did make the warre against Farrara, the King Ferrando sent Alfonso Duke of Calauria, with his armie to the river of Tronto, and there desired leave of the Pope to passe into Lombardy to aide the Marquesse, which was by the Pope utterly denied. Whereupon, the King, and the Florentines, being resolved, thought to constraine him by force, so as thereby he should either become their friend, or at the least, they would so trouble him, as he could not be able to aide the Venetians: for they were in the field, and had alreadie begun the warre with the Marquesse, spoyled his countreys, and besieged Figarolo, a Castle of much importance, for the countrey of that Prince. Thus the King and the Florentines determined to assaile the Pope. Alfonso Duke of Calauria spoiled the countrey towards Rome, and with aide of the Colonna, who were on his side (bicause

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the Orsini were joyned with the Pope) did great dammage to that countrey on the other side of Rome. The Florentines on the other side under Nicholo Vitelli, assaulted the Cittie of Castello, surprized it, and drave out Lorenzo, who kept that Castle for the Pope, and Nicholo remained a Prince thereof. By these actions, the Pope was greatlie distressed, bicause Rome within the Cittie was troubled with factions, and the countrey without spoiled by enemies. Notwithstanding, as a man of courage, he would not give place to the enemy, but entertained Roberto da Rimino, and calling him to Rome, where all his men of warre were assembled, told him, how great honor he might win, if he could against the force of a King, deliver the Church from those troubles wherewith it was occupied: and how great obligation he should thereby have not onely of him, but also of all other Popes his successors, and that both God and men would reacquite the same. Roberto first viewing the Popes men of armes, and other his preparations, perswaded him to make all the footmen he was able, which with all speed and diligence was performed.

By this time the Duke of Calauria was neare unto Rome, and spoiled the countrey even to the walls of the Cittie, which offended the people so much, as many of them voluntarily offered themselves to serve with Roberto, and recover the libertie of Rome: who were all by that Lord thanked and received. The Duke hearing of these preparations, retired a little from the Cittie, thinking, that if he were further off, Roberto would not seeke him: and he also looked, that Federigo his brother, should come with fresh men, sent from the King their father. Roberto seeing himselfe equall with the Duke for men of armes, and in footmen above him, marched out of Rome without order, and lodged his Camp within two miles of the enemy. The Duke seeing his enemies at hand, not looking for them, thought it stood him upon, either to fight or flee. Wherefore as constrained, and for not doing a thing unworthie the sonne of a King, determined to fight, and turning his face to the enemy, either camp put their men in order, and brought them to battell, which continued from the morning till noone: and the same was performed with more

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vertue, then any had bene in Italy fiftie yeares before; for therein were slaine on both sides more then a thousand men, and the end was glorious to the Church. For the great multitude of the Popes footmen, so much offended the Dukes horsemen, as they were forced to turne their backs: and the Dukes person had bene taken prisoner, had he not bene saved by many Turks, who were left at Ottranto, and served under him. Roberto having this victorie, returned to Rome with triumph: which he enjoyed not long, for that by drinking of much water at the day of battell, he fell into a flixe, which within fewe dayes brought him to death. His bodie was by the Pope, with great honor buried. The Pope having this victorie, sent the Earle presently towards the Cittie of Castello, to see that towne restored unto Lorenzo; and besides to proove, how the Cittie of Rimino was enclined. For after the death of Roberto, (who had onely one yong sonne, and the Cittie left to the government of his mother) the Pope imagined it was easie for him to surprize it. And in deed it would have so come to passe, had not that woman bene by the Florentines defended, who tooke her part with such forces, as the enemy could not worke his will, either against Castello, or Rimino.

While these matters were a doing in Romagna and Rome, the Venetians had surprized Figarolo, and with their men had passed the River of Po, and in the Duke of Milan his campe, and the Marquesse also, there was disorder, bicause Federigo, Earle of Urbino, being sick, caused himselfe to be carried to take phisick at Bologna, and there died: whereby the affaires of the Marquesse proceeded slowlie, and the Venetians hoped dailie more and more to surprize Farrara. On the other side, the King and the Florentines laboured to make the Pope of their side, which not brought to passe by armes, they threatned by a Generall Councell to make him yeeld, which Councell, was by the Emperours commaundement, appointed at Baselia: whereupon, by perswasion of the Emperours Embassador at Rome, and the chiefe Cardinals, who desired peace, the Pope was perswaded and constrained to allow of peace, and the uniting of Italy. Then the Pope for feare, and also for that he found the greatnesse of the Venetians to be

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The Duke of
Calauria dis-
comfited by
the Pope.

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the ruine of the Church and all Italy, resolved to come into the league, and sent his Nuncio to Naples, where a league was concluded for five yeares, betwixt the Pope, the King, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines, reserving a place for the Venetians, if they were pleased to enter. This done, the Pope commaunded the Venetians to surcease the warre of Farrara, which they not onely refused to do, but also made the preparation greater: and having alreadie broken the Dukes and Marquesse forces at Argenta, they at Farrara were so neare distressed, as the Dukes forces were lodged in the Marquesse Park. Then the League thought good no longer to deferre the aiding of that Prince, and caused the Duke of Calauria with his and the Popes men to goe to Farrara. The Florentines likewise sent all their forces thither, and for the better ordering of the warre, the League appointed a Councell to be holden at Cremona, where the Popes Legat, the Earle Girolamo, the Duke of Calauria, the Lord Lodovico, Lorenzo de Medici, with many other Princes of Italy met. In this Councell, the Princes devised the order of the future warre. And bicause they judged that Farrara could not be better relieved any way, then by some brave assault, they ordered that Lodovico should begin a warre upon the Venetians, for the countreys belonging to the Duke of Milan. But thereunto that Lord would not consent, fearing to begin a warre which he could not end at his pleasure. Wherefore it was determined they should go with all their footmen to Farrara, and with foure thousand men of armes, and eight thousand footmen, assault the Venetians, who had two thousand and two hundred men of armes, and sixe thousand footmen. And the League thought good first to assaile the navie which the Venetians had lying upon the river of Po, and the same being assaulted, was broken at Bondeno, with the losse of two hundred vessels, and Antonio Justiniano, the Proveditor of the navie was taken. Then the Venetians, seeing all Italy united against them, to win some reputation, entertained the Duke of the Rhene with two thousand men of armes. But having received this overthrow of their navie, they sent this Duke with part of their armie to frunt the enemye, and commaunded Roberto

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de Sanseverino, with the rest of their camp, to passe the river of Adda, and approaching to Milan, to proclaime the name of the Duke, and of the Ladie Bona his mother: for by that meanes, they hoped to make some Innovation in the Cittie, supposing that the Lord Lodovico and his government was hated. This assault at the beginning brought therewith some terror, and moved all the Cittie to take armes: but in the end, it wrought an effect contrarie to the Venetians expectation. Bicause Lodovico in respect of this injurie, was content to allow of that which before he would not. And therefore, leaving the Marquesse of Farrara to the defence of his owne countrey, he with foure thousand horse, and two thousand footmen, and the Duke of Calauria with twelve thousand horse, and five thousand footmen, entred the countrey of Pergamo, Brescia, and Verona, spoiling almost all the countrey belonging to those three Citties, before the Venetians knew thereof, for the Lord Roberto with his souldiers, could scarcely defend that Cittie. On the other side, the Marquesse of Farrara had recovered a great part of his possessions, by meane whereof, the Duke of the Rhene who came against him, was not able to make head, having onely two thousand horse, and one thousand footmen. Thus all that summer, in the yeare 1483 the League proceeded in their warres most prosperously.

The next Spring being come (for in all the winter was nothing done) the armies were againe brought to the field, and the League, (to the end it might the more speedily oppresse the Venetians) had joined all the whole army together: but if they had proceeded as they did the yeare before, they should assuredly have taken from the Venetians, all the lands in Lombardy to them belonging: for they had not left unto them, more then sixe thousand horse, and five thousand footmen. And on the other side, were twelve thousand horse, and sixe thousand footmen. Also the Duke of the Rhene having ended the yeare of his entertainment, was returned home. Notwithstanding (as it often happeneth) where diverse Governours be of equall authoritie, there groweth division, and the enimie winneth victorie, so Federigo Gonzaga, Marquesse of Mantova, being dead (who with his authoritie continued the Duke of Calauria, and the

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Lord Lodovico united) betwixt them grew diversitie of opinions, and jelousie. For Giovangaliazso Duke of Milan being attained to age, and abilitie to governe his owne state, and having also married the daughter of the Duke of Calauria, the Duke desired, that his sonne in lawe, and not Lodovico, might governe the state. This suspition of Lodovico being knowne to the Venetians, was made by them an occasion, supposing they might as they had ever done, recover by peace, that which they had lost by warre: and secretly they practised a pacification betwixt them and Lodovico, which was concluded in August, the yeare 1484. That being knowne to the other confederates, displeased them much, chiefly when they knew, that all the townes taken from the Venetians should be restored, and they still to injoy also Rovigo, and Policene, which townes they had taken from the Marquesse of Farrara. And moreover, that they should have againe all those prerogatives which in times passed they had. Everie man then thought, they had made a warre with great charge, and as therein they had gained small honor, so in the end it was compounded with shame: bicause the townes taken, were restored, and the townes lost, were not recovered. Yet were the confederates forced to accept the peace, being wearie of charges, and fearing the ambition and defects of others, would make no more triall of their fortune.

Castello besieged by
the Pope.

While in Lombardy matters were in this manner handled, the Pope by meane of Lorenzo besieged the Cittie of Castello, to drive from thence Nicholo Vitelli, (who, to drawe the Pope into the league) had forsaken him. In this siege, those that within the towne were partakers with Nicholo, came forth to fight with the enemies, and did vanquish them; whereupon, the Pope revoked the Earle Girolamo from Lombardy, to repaire his force at Rome: that done, to returne to his enterprise. But afterwards, thinking it better to gaine the good will of Nicholo by peace, then to assaile him with a new warre, grew to agreement with him, and by all meanes reconciled him to Lorenzo his adversarie: whereupon, he was allured rather by suspition of new tumults, then by the love he bare his cuntry. For betwixt the Colonnese and Orsini, there

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appeared much displeasure: bicause the King of Naples in the warre betwixt him and the Pope, had taken from Orsini the Earledome of Tagliacozzo, and given it to the Colonnese his followers. Afterwards, the peace being made betwixt the King and the Pope, the Orsini by vertue thereof demaunded restitution. The Pope often signified to the Colonnese, that they ought to make restitution, but they, neither at the intreatie of the Orsini, nor for the threatning of the Pope, would agree thereunto, but still with injuries, and spoiling of the Orsini, did displeasure them, which the Pope could not indure: and therefore assembled all his forces, and joyning with them the Orsini, sacked all the houses of the Colonnese in Rome, slaying and taking all those that made resistance, and razing the most part of all their Castles: so that those tumults were ended not by peace, but by oppressing one of the parties. Also Genova and Toscana were somewhat disquieted, for the Florentines did keepe the Earle Antonio de Marciano with his souldiers, upon the confines of Serezana, who during the warre of Lombardy, with foraging, and small skirmishes, molested the Serezanesi. And in Genova, Battistino Fregoso Duke of that Cittie, trusting unto Pagolo Frigoso Archbishop, was by him taken, with his wife and children, and the Archbishop made Duke. Likewise, the Venetian navie had assaulted the Kingdome, surprized Galipoli, and molested other places thereabouts. But the peace of Lombardy concluded, all tumults did cease, save onely in Toscana and Rome: for the Pope within five daies after the peace was proclaimed, died: either bicause the end of his life was come, or for sorrow that a peace was made to his disadvantage. This Pope at his death left Italy in peace, though during his life he had alwaies therein made warre: and the Romanes presentlie after his departure tooke armes. The Earle Girolamo with his souldiers retired under the Castle, and the Orsini did feare, least the Colonnese would be revenged of the fresh injuries done them. Then the Colonnese demaunded againe their houses and Castles. Upon these occasions, within few daies there followed many murthers, robberies, and burnings in diverse parts of the Cittie. But the Cardinals having perswaded the Earle to yeeld that Castle unto the

The Colonnese
oppressed by
the Pope.

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College, and returne home to his owne land, and also remove his souldiers out of Rome, he being desirous to gratifie the next Pope, gave up the Castle to the College, and went himselfe unto Imola. Whereupon the Cardinals delivered of this feare, and the Barons out of hope to be aided by the Earle in their quarrels, went to the creation of a new Pope. After some disputation, and diversitie of opinions, Giovanbattista Cibo, borne in Genova, and Cardinall of Malfetta, was chosen Pope, by the name of Innocentio octavo. He through the curtesie of his nature (being a quiet and peaceable man) procured all armes to be laid downe, and for the present, pacified Rome. The Florentines after the peace, could not content themselves with rest, being perswaded it was shame, and dishonor, that a private Gentleman had taken from them the Castle of Serezana. And bicause the capitulations were, that it was lawfull to demaund all things taken, and if they were not restored, to make warre against the withholder, they resolved speedily to prepare money and men to performe that enterprise. Then Agostino Fregoso, who had surprized Serezana, being perswaded that at his private charge he could not mainteine so great a warre, gave that towne to S. George. And sithens we are to make mention diverse times of S. George, and the Genovesi, it seemeth not amisse to declare the orders and customes of that Cittie, being one of the principall states of Italy.

The first
erection of
S. George
in Genova.

The peace made betwixt the Genovesi and Venetians (after the greatest warre, that was seene in many yeares past) the State not being able to pay those Cittizens who had lent great summes of money, appointed their revenues of the Dogana, to be paid unto them, till such time as the principall debts were discharged. And for their meeting togethers, they appointed the Pallace over the Dogana. These creditors among themselves ordeined a forme of government, appointing a Councell of a hundred, and a Senate of eight Citizens, which officers as heads of the Cittie, might dispatch all affaires. The debts were divided into parts, which they called Luoghi, and intituled the whole corporation of S. Georgeo. This government thus established, ever hapned new necessities, whereupon they

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resorted to S. George for new aide; who being riche and well ordered, could easily serve their turnes. And the comunaltie on the other side, having graunted the Dogana, began for pawne of the moneys, to give their lands: yea, the matter went so farre (by reason of the common necessities and services of S. George) that under government thereof, the greater part of the Townes, Citties, and Lands of Genova, doe now belong to S. George, who doth governe and defend them. Also every yeare by publike suffrage, officers be appointed without any intermedling of the Comunaltie. Hereof it proceedeth, that those Citizens have no regard of the common profit, as a thing tirannized, and set their whole care upon S. George, as well and equally governed: whereof do arise the easie and often alterations of the State, and that the people do otherwhiles yeeld their obedience to some of their owne Citizens, and sometimes to a Stranger: for not S. George, but the Comunaltie doth alter in government: which was the cause that when the Adorni and Fregosi contending for the principallitie did fight, the comunaltie only, and the greater part of the citizens stood neutrall, and yeelded to the victorious. Neither doth the office of S. George other, then whensoever any man hath taken the government, it sweareth him to observe the lawes thereof, which to this day are not changed. For S. George having in possession the armes, the money, and the government, cannot without the danger of a certaine rebellion, be altered. A rare order surely, and not found by the Philosophers among their imagined or visible Commonweales, to see within one circle, and among one number of Citizens, libertie, and tirannie, civill life, and corruption, justice and licentiousnes: which order onely mainteineth that towne full of auncient and venerable customes. And if it should happen (which in time will assuredly come to passe) that S. George shall be owner of all the Citie, that State will be more notable, then the Venetian Commonweale. To this S. George, Agostino Fregoso gave Serezana, who received it willingly, and taking in hand the defence thereof, presently prepared a navie by sea, and sent certaine forces to Pietrasanta, to impeach all those that resorted to the Florentine Camp, then neare unto Serezana.

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Warre
betweene the
Genovesi and
the Floren-
tines.

On the other side, the Florentines desired to take Pietrasanta, as a towne needfull to be had for the winning of Serezana: for being betwixt it and Pisa, they could not besiege it so long as by the Pietrasantesi, or others therein, they were impeached in the siege of Serezana. To bring this enterprise to passe, they sent from Pisa to the Camp, a great quantitie of munition and victuall, slenderly garded: to the end that they of Pietrasanta should feare the lesse, and in hope of a good bootie, to assault them. The matter was then followed according to expectation: For the souldiers in Pietrasanta, seeing before their eyes so great a bootie, tooke it, which gave the Florentines just occasion to execute the enterprise: wherefore leaving Serezana, they besieged Pietrasanta, which was well manned, and bravely defended. The Florentines having their artillerie in the plaine, made a bulwarke upon the mountaine, hoping from thence to batter it. Giacompo Guicciardino was Commissarie of the Florentine forces. And while they besieged Pietrasanta, the navie of Genova tooke and burnt the fortresse of Vada: and setting some of their souldiers a land, spoiled the countrey thereabout. Against whome, Buongianni Gianfiliazzi, was sent with certaine footmen, who partly stayed their pride, so as they durst no longer spoile at their pleasures. Yet the navie continuing to molest the Florentines, went unto Livorno, and with certaine instruments, approached Torre Nuova, battering it diverse dayes with artillerie, but seeing nothing done to their advantage, returned back with shame. In the meane space, Pietrasanta was coldly assaulted: whereupon, the enemies tooke hart, assaulted the Bulwarke, and tooke it: which was so greatly to their reputation, and the Florentines feare, as they were readie to breake up the Campe. In so much as they retired foure miles from the towne, and the officers of the Camp thought good, that the moneth of October being come, it was time to lodge the army, and deferre that siege till the next Spring. This disorder being knowne in Florence, made the Magistrates much offended, and therefore to repaire the Camp in force and reputation, made choise of new Commissaries, Antonio Pucci, and Bernardo del Nero, who with great summes of money went unto the Camp, and declared

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to the Captaines the indignation of the Senate and the people, and how great a shame it should be, unlesse the army did againe returne to the siege: for it were an infamie, so great a Camp, to be repulsed by so small a guard, and so weake a towne. They also shewed the present and future commoditie that would insue of that victorie. Which perswasion, moved the souldiers to returne to the walls, and first of all to recover the Bulwarke. For the performance whereof, they knowing how much curtesie, affabilitie, and good usage might do to incourage the minds of men, Antonio Pucci, by comforting, promising, and imbracing the souldiers, procured the Bulwarke to be assaulted so furiously, as even in a sodeine it was taken, yet not without losse: for in that assault, the Earle Antonio de Marciano with a peece of artillerie, was slaine. This victorie terrified those of the towne so much, as they began to offer composition: whereupon, to the end the conclusion might be made with the more reputation, Lorenzo di Medici thought good to come to the Camp, and within a few daies after his arrivall, the Castle was yeelded. The winter now come, the Captaines liked not to proceed further in the warre, but attend the Spring: and the rather, bicause the Autumne past, by meanes of evill aires, sicknes was brought into the Camp, wherewith many of the Captaines and leaders were diseased. Among whome, Antonio Pucci, and Bongianni Gianfigliazzi, were not onely sick, but also dead, to the great grieffe of all the army: so great was the honor and love that Pucci had wonne in the exploite of Pietrasanta. After the taking of Pietrasanta, the Lucchesi sent Embassadors to Florence, to demaund that towne, as a thing belonging to their common-weale. For they alleaged, that among other things it was contracted betwixt them, that the towne first wonne by any of them, should be restored to the auncient owner. The Florentines directlie denied not that covenant, but answered, that they doubted whether in the peace made betwixt them and the Genovesi, it was meant the towne to be delivered, and therefore they could not till then determine: and if it were restored, then the Lucchesi ought of necessitie to pay the charge, and make satisfaction, for the losse of so many great Citizens: which if they would do, they might hope to

Pietrasanta
taken.

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Aquila re-
belled from
the K. of
Naples.

The Pope
defendeth
the rebels of
Aquila.

have it againe. All that winter was spent, in the communication of this peace betwixt the Genovesi, and the Florentines. And by reason the Pope was a doer therein, the matter was handled at Rome: but not being concluded, the Florentines would the next Spring have assaulted Serezana, had they not bene by the sicknesse of Lorenzo di Medici, and the warre which grew betwixt the Pope, and the King Ferrando, impeached. For Lorenzo was not onely diseased of the gowt, which infirmitie, seemed to discend from his father, but was also so grievouslie tormented with grieve of the stomack, that he went unto the Bathes to be cured: but the warre was the chiefe occasion of his sicknesse, and the originall thereof.

The Citie of Aquila was subject to the King of Naples, yet the people therein lived as free. In this Citie, the Earle Montorio had great reputation. The Duke of Calauria with his men of armes being neare unto Tronto, pretending to pacifie certaine tumults among the people of that countrey, and intending to reduce Aquila wholie under the Kings obedience, sent for the Earle Montorio, as though he would imploy him in those matters he made shew of. The Earle without suspition came, and was presently by the Duke sent to Naples prisoner. These newes being advertised to Aquila, altered the minde of the Cittie, and the people popularly tooke armes, and slewe Antonio Concinello, Commissarie for the King, and with him certaine other Citizens, who were knowne affectionate to the King. Also, to the end the Aquilani might have some friend to defend them in their rebellion, they displaied the Ensigne of the Church, and sent Embassadors to give the Cittie to the Pope: desiring him, as his owne subjects, to defend them from the tyrannie of the King. The Pope manfully tooke in hand their defence, as one that both for private and publique occasion hated the King. And Roberto da Sanseverino, enemy to the State of Milan, hapning to be out of pay, the Pope entertained him for Generall, and caused him with great expedition to come unto Rome: and besides that, sollicited all the friends and kinsmen of the Earle Montorio, to become Rebels to the King; in so much as the Princes of Altemura, Salerno, and Bisignano, tooke armes against him. The King seeing himselfe by so sodeine a warre

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assaulted, prayed aide of the Florentines, and the Duke of Milan. The Florentines stood doubtfull what to do, bicause it seemed hard to leave their owne enterprise for others: and to take armes against the Church, was perilous. Notwithstanding, being in league, they preferred fidelitie, before commoditie or perill, and entertained the Orsini, and sent all their owne men towards Rome to the aide of the King, under conduct of the Earle of Pitigliano. Then the King made two camps, and sent the one towards Rome, under the Duke of Calauria, who with the Florentines should incounter the Popes army. The other camp himselfe did leade, and marched toward the Barons that rebelled. This warre with variable fortune was mannaged, and at the end, the King in all places having advantage, by mediation of the Embassadors of Spayne, a peace was concluded in the moneth of August 1486, whereunto the Pope (being beaten with evill fortune, and loth to adventure more) consented. Also, all the Potentates of Italy were included (onely the Genovesi, as rebels to the State of Milan, and usurpers of the Florentines lands) were left out. Roberto da Sanseverino, the peace made, having bene in this warre no faithfull friend to the Pope, and nothing terrible to the enemy, departed from Rome, as driven out by the Pope: and being followed by the Dukes and Florentine souldiers, so soone as he had passed Cesena, seeing himselfe not followed, fled away, and with lesse then one hundred horse, came to Ravenna. Of the rest of his men, some were received by the Duke, and some by the countrey people, were cut in pieces. The King having made peace, and reconciled his Barons, put to death Giovanni Coppola, and Antonello de Anversa, with his sonnes, and those which had in the warre revealed his secrets unto the Pope.

By meanes of this warre, the Pope knew what readinesse and care the Florentines had to keepe friendship: and therefore, albeit that for the love of the Genovesi, and the aiding of the King, he before hated them, yet now he began to love them, and shew more favour unto their Embassadors then he was wont. Which disposition knowne to Lorenzo de Medici, was by all honorable meanes increased: for he thought it much for his reputation, if to the favour which

Peace be-
tweene the
K. of Naples,
and the Pope,
1486.

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Lorenzo di
Medici his
daughter,
married unto
the Popes
sonne.

The Genovesi
assaulted by
the Floren-
tines.

the King bare him, he might also joyne the Popes friendship. This Pope had one sonne called Francesco, and being desirous to honor him with lands and friends, wherewith he might after his death, mainteine himselfe, he knewe not any in Italy with whome he could more safely be matched, then with Lorenzo: and therefore so handled the matter, that Lorenzo married a daughter of his unto Francesco. This marriage being made, the Pope desired that the Genovesi might by composition deliver Serezana to the Florentines: perswading them, that they should not hold that which Agostino had sold, nor Agostino could give unto S. George that, which was not his. Notwithstanding, this perswasion tooke no effect. But the Genovesi while these matters were practising at Rome, armed certaine of their Ships, and before the Florentines knew any thing thereof, set three thousand footmen a land, and assaulted the Castle of Serezanello, neare unto Serezana, belonging to the Florentines, spoyling and burning the Towne: which done, they planted their Artillarie against the Castle, and with all diligence battered the same. This new assault was unlooked for of the Florentines, neverthesse presently they assaulted their forces at Pisa, under Virginio Orsino. They also complained unto the Pope, that whilst he practised the peace, the Genovesi had begunne this warre. They sent likewise Piero Corcini to Lucca, to continue the amitie with that Citie: and Pagolantonio Soderini, was sent unto Venice, to feele the disposition of that state. They praied aide also of the King, and of the Lord Lodovico Sforza: but failed thereof at both their handes. For the King saide hee feared the Turkes Navie, and Lodovico under other cavillations deferred to send anie. Thus the Florentines (being for the most part left alone in their warres) did not finde anie so readie to helpe them, as they were readie to aide others. Neither were they dismaied being now abandoned by their confederates (which was no new thing) but assembling a great armie under Giacopo Guicciardini, and Piero Vittori, sent them against the enemies, who lodged one night uppon the River Magra.

In the meane time, Serezanello was straightly distressed by the enemies, who by undermining and everie other

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meanes, besieged it. In so much as our Commissaries marched towards the reliefe thereof. Yet the enimie refused not to fight, but joyning battle with the Commissaries, the Genovesi were overthrowne: and Lodovico Fiesco, with many other Captaines of the enemies were taken prisoners. This victory discouraged not so much the Serezanesi, that they would therefore yeeld, but with more obstinacie they prepared for defence: and the Florentine Commissaries still continued to offend them. In so much as that towne was both manfully assaulted, and stoutly defended. This siege continuing long, caused Lorenzo di Medici to go himselfe into the field. He being come thither, greatly encouraged our souldiers, and discouraged the Serezanesi. For they seeing the resolution of the Florentines to distresse them, and the coldnesse of the Genovesi to relieve them, freely, and without conditions, yeelded themselves to the Florentines hands. And were all received to mercie, excepting a fewe who had bin the authors of the rebellion. Lodovico during this siege, had sent his men of armes to Pontremoli, seeming to have aided us. But having intelligence with some in Genova, that faction tooke armes against those that governed, and with the aide of these forces, delivered that Cittie to the Duke of Milan. At that time the Almanes had mooved a war against the Venetians, and Boccolino de Osimo in La Marca, caused the towne of Osimo to rebell against the Pope, and made himselfe Prince thereof. He, after many accidents, at the perswasion of Lorenzo di Medici, was contented to deliver that Citie againe unto the Pope, and went himselfe to Florence, where under the protection of Lorenzo, he lived long in great honour. After he went from thence to Milan, where not finding the like fidelitie, was by Lodovico put to death. The Venetians assaulted by the Almanes, were neare unto the Citie of Trento broken, and Roberto da Sanseverino their Generall, slaine. After which losse, the Venetians (according to the order of their fortune) made peace with the Almanes, (not as victored, but as victorious) so honourable was the conclusion for their state. In those dayes also there happened in Romagna, tumults of great importance. Francesco de

The Genovesi
discomfited.

The Venetians broken,
and their
Generall
slaine.

Tumults in
Romagna.

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The Earle
Girolamo
murdered.

Orso of Furli, was a man of great authoritie in that Citie. He being suspected to the Earle Girolamo, was many times by the Earle threatned. Whereupon Francesco living in great feare, was perswaded by his friends and kinsmen, to prevent the mischief. And sith he feared to be slaine by the Earle, was advised to sley him first: and so by the death of an other, escape his owne daunger. This resolution made, hee appointed the time for performing the enterprize, the Market day at Furli: for many of his country friends comming then thither, he thought to have their aide without sending for them. This conspiracie hapned in the moneth of May, in which time (and all the sommer) the Italians do use to sup by day-light. The conspirators thought the fittest instant to commit this murther, should be immediatly after supper, when all his familie were at meate, and he left almost alone in his chamber. Thus determined, and that houre appointed, Francesco went unto the Earles house, and leaving his companions in the Hall, himselfe went up to the Chamber, where the Earle was, and said to one of his men, that he desired to speake with the Earle. Francesco being called in, entertained the Earle awhile with some feined speech, and so sodeinly slew him. Then he called unto him his companions, and slew also the Earles man. By chance the Captaine of the towne also came in the meane time to speake with the Earle, and being arrived in the Hall, followed with a fewe, was likewise slaine by those that came to murther the Earle. These murthers executed, the Earles bodie was cast out of the window: and the murtherers proclayming the Church and libertie, caused all the people to arme, who hated greatly the covetise and crueltie of the Earle. The conspirators having sacked the Earles houses, tooke the Countesse Caterina his wife, with all her children. Then remained onely the Castle (which being surprized) should happilie finish the enterprize. But thereunto the Captaine would not consent: Neverthesse, this Countesse promised to deliver it, if she were let loose to goe into the Castle, and for hostages of her promise, she left with the enemyes her children. The conspirators believed her words, and gave her leave to depart. But so soone as she was within the Castle, she looked over the

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walls, and threatned the enemyes to be revenged of her husbands death. Then they threatning to sley all her children, answered, that she had meane to beget others. The conspirators dismaied, seeing they were not aided by the Pope, and hearing that the Lord Lodovico, Unkle to the Countesse, did send men in her aide, taking up all the goods they could carrie awaie, went unto the Cittie of Castello, whereby the Countesse recovered her state, and revenged her husbands death by all manner of cruelties. The Florentines understanding the Earles death, tooke occasion to repossesse the fortresse of Piancaldoli, which the Earle had before taken from them: for sending thither their forces, they surprized it, and slew therein Ciecco, the famous Archittecture. To this tumult of Romagna, followed one other of no lesse moment.

The Earles
wife re-
venged.

Galeotto Lord of Faenza, tooke to wife the daughter of Giovan Bentivogli, Prince of Bologna. She either for jealousie, or bicause her husband used her not well, either else through her owne evil nature, hated him so much, as she determined to take from him his principallitie and life. Then dissembling a sicknesse, laid her selfe in bed, and when Galeotto should come to visit her, she determined he should be by certaine men hidden in the Chamber, slaine. Of this intent, she had made her father privie, who hoped by the death of his sonne in lawe, to become Lord of Faenza. The time destined for this murther being come, Galeotto repaired to his wives Chamber, as he was woont, and having a little talked with her, the murtherers came forth, and without anie mercie, there presentlie slew him. So soone as the murther was knowne, great tumults arose. His wife, with one little sonne, called Astore, fled to the Castle. The people tooke armes, and Giovan Bentivogli, together with a Captaine of Milan, called Bergamino, prepared for the purpose, with many armed men entred into Faenza, where was also Antonio Bascoli, a Florentine Commissarie. All these leaders assembled, and reasoning of the government of that towne. The men of the Vale of Lamona (who were come populerly to the rumor) assaulted Giovanni, and Bergamino, sleying the one, and taking the other prisoner. Then they proclaymed the name of Astore,

Galeotto,
Lord of
Faenza mur-
dered.

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and the Florentines, reaccomending the Cittie to the Florentine Commisaries. This chance knowne at Florence, grieved every man much: notwithstanding they caused Giovanni and his daughter to be set at libertie, and the tuition of Astore, by consent of the people was given unto them. Besides these, diverse other tumults happened in Romagna, la Marca, and Siena: after the warres were compounded betwixt the greater Princes; which being of lesse importance, I judge superfluous to report. True it is, that the troubles of Siena (after the departure of the Duke of Calauria in the yeare 88) were more in number: and after many alterations, sometimes the people governed, and sometimes the nobilitie, but in the end, the nobilitie was victorious. Among whom, Pandolfo and Giacopo Petruccio, were of most authoritie. The one for his wisdom, the other for courage, became as Lords of that Citie. But the Florentines after the warre of Serezana, till the yeare 1492 (at which time Lorenzo de Medici died) did live in great felicitie. For Lorenzo having by his wisdom appeased the armes of Italy, endeavoured to make himselfe and his Citie great; and married his eldest sonne Piero to Alfonsina, the daughter of Cavallier Orsino: and Giovanni his second sonne, was advanced to the dignitie of Cardinall. Which honor was the more notable, because at the time of his calling to that honour, he passed not the age of foureteene yeares: which was the way to make his house (as after it came to passe) to be exalted to the skies. For Giuliano his third sonne, by reason of his yong age, and the small time Lorenzo lived, he could not provide anie extraordinarie fortune. Of his daughters he married one to Giacopo Salviati, an other to Francesco Cibo; the third, to Piero Ridolfi: the fourth (whom he bestowed to hold his house united) was wedded to Giovan di Medici, but she died. In his other private affaires, and chiefly in marchandize he was verie infortunate. For by the disorder of his ministers (who lived liker Princes, then private men) a great part of his substance in sundrie places was consumed: enforced thereby to borrow great summes of his countrey. Afterwards, not to runne in daunger of like fortune, leaving marchandize, he employed himselfe in the purchase of

Lorenzo de
Medici.

Lorenzo in
marchandize
infortunate.

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lands: as riches of more assurance. In the countries of Pisa, Prato, and in the vale of Pesa, he compassed possessions both for profit and magnificence of houses, more fit for a King then a private person.

After that time, he enlarged and bewtified his owne Cittie, to the end he might live therein with the more quiet, and securitie. And therefore in many voide places hee built newe houses and streetes: whereby the Citie became more bewtifull and large. Also to the end hee might rest the more assured at home, and encounter his enemies farre of: towards Bologna in the midsts of the Alpes, he fortified the Castle of Firenzuola. Towards Siena, he began to reedifie Poggio Imperiale, and make it exceeding strong. Towardes Genova by winning of Pietrasanta and Serezana, hee shut that passage up against the enemies. Moreover, by giving pensions, and provisions, he made friends, the Baglioni in Perugia, the Vitelli in the Citie of Castello, and in Faenza, he had particuler government. All which things were as Bulwarkes to defend Florence. In times of peace, he feasted the Citie, making many times triumphs, Justs, and publike shewes. For his intent was to keepe the Citie plentifull, the people united, and the nobilitie in honour. He greatly esteemed men that excelled in any Art. He also favoured learned men, as Agnolo da Montepulciano, Christofero Landini, and Demetrio Greco, can beare witnesse. Insomuch as the Earle Giovanni di Mirandola (a man accounted almost divine) forsaking all other parts of Europe, which hee had traveled, moved by the magnificence of Lorenzo, settled his habitation in Florence. He marvellously delighted in Musick, Architecture and Poetry, as many of his owne verses, and Commentaries yet extant do testifie. Also to the end that the Florentine youth might be exercised in learning, he erected an Universitie in Pisa, whither he brought the most excellent men of all Italy. He likewise builded a Monastery neare unto Florence, chiefly for Friar Mariano da Chinazano, of the order of S. Austen, being accounted an excellent Preacher. He was greatly loved both of God and fortune. All his enterprises had good successe, and his enemies misadventure: for besides the

Lorenzo
magnificent.

Lorenzo a
lover of
learning.

Lorenzo
universally
loved.

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Lorenzo
honored of
princes.

The death of
Lorenzo di
Medici.

Pazzi, Battista Frescobaldi, and Baldinotto practized to sleigh him: but either of them with others guiltie of the treason, were rewarded with the paines of their merit. This his manner of life, this his wisdom and fortune, caused the Princes not onely of Italy, but others further of to know him: and with admiration to esteeme him. Mathia King of Hungary made many testimonies of the love he bare him. The Soldan by his Embassadors and presents, did visit him. The great Turke delivered to his hand Barnardo Bandini, that murthered his brother. Which things made him highly honoured in Italy. And that reputation was daily by his owne wisdom increased. For in discourse, he was eloquent, in counsell wise, in execution quicke and couragious: neither was there in him any vices to blemish those vertues, although he were greatly delighted with love of women, and tooke pleasure in jesting and taunting: and would also plaie at childrens games, unseemly in so great a personage. For so much he pleased in children, that he was often seene to plaie with his sonnes, and litle daughters. But whosoever would consider his lightnesse with his gravitie, should thinke there were in him two persons of diverse composition, (as it were) by impossible conjunction coupled. In the last end of his life, he lived full of sorrow, caused by extreme sicknes: for he was troubled with intollerable paines of the stomacke, and died in Aprill the yeare 1492 and the three and fortie yeare of his age: neither was there anie man that died either in Florence, or elsewhere in Italy, so famous for his wisdom, or so much lamented of his countrey. In so much as the heavens made evident signes of great misadventures that should follow. Amongst others, the Temple of Santa Reparata, was with so much furie stricken by thunder, that the greater part of the steeple was throwne downe, to the admiration and terrour of all men. All the inhabitants of Florence, and all the Princes of Italy lamented his death, and made manifest shewe thereof. For there was not any of them, that sent not Embassadors to condole the death of Lorenzo. And for triall that they had just cause to lament, the effect following proved. For Italy being deprived of his counsell, had not any man left therein. whose

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wisedome could prevent or bridle the ambition of Lodovico Sforza, Governour of the yoong Duke of Milan. Wherefore, Lorenzo being dead, those evill seedes beganne to grow, which shortly after (wanting such a one to roote them out) did ruine, and yet doth ruine all Italy.

THE
EIGHT
BOOKE

FINIS



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